

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ARTS and SCIENCES
OF THE
ANTIEN TS.

Under the following HEADS:

VOL. I.
Agriculture, Gardening,
Architecture, Sculpture,
Tomb, Painting, Music,
the Arts, Military.

VOL. II.
Metaphysics, Philosophy, Rhetoric,
Poetry, Music, Painting,
Sculpture, Architecture, Gardening,
Agriculture.

VOL. III.
Metaphysics, Philosophy, Rhetoric,
Poetry, Music, Painting,
Sculpture, Architecture, Gardening,
Agriculture.

By Mr. ROLLIN, late Professor of the University
of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal
College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions
and Belles Lettres.

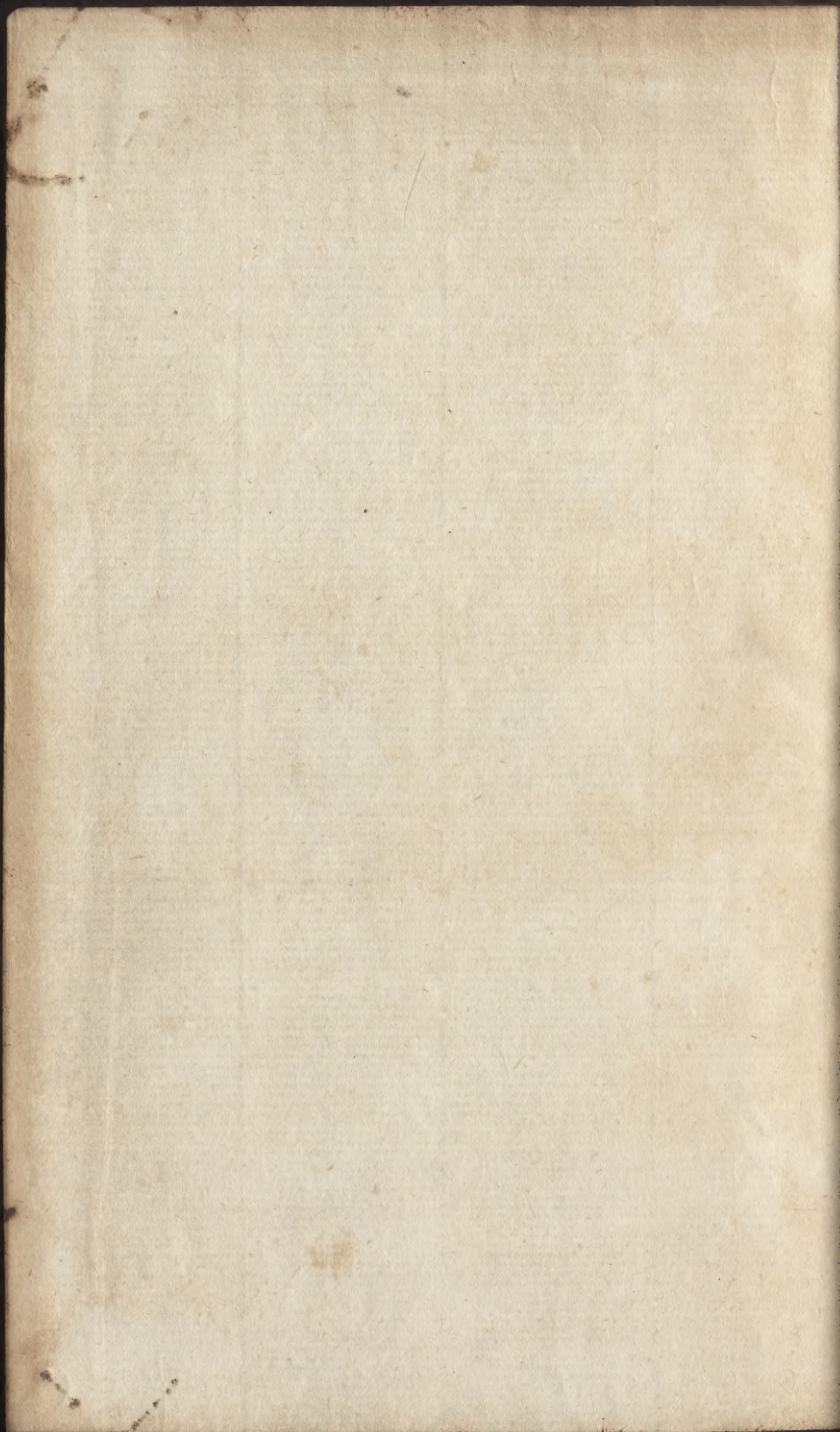
Translated from the French.

Illustrated with Fifty-two Copper Plates, representing the Cities
and Monuments, Architecture of the ANTIEN TS, their
Temple, Monuments, Emblems of War, Painting, &c.

VOL. III.

LONDON.

Printed by JOHN and PAUL KNEAULT, in the
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TURE, PAINTING, MUSICK,
the ART MILITARY.

VOL. II.

GRAMMAR, PHILOLOGY, RHE-
TORICK.

VOL. III.

POETRY, HISTORY, ELO-

QUENCE, PHILOSOPHY, CI-
VIL LAW.

VOL. IV.

METAPHYSICS and PHYSICS,
PHYSIC, BOTANY, CHYMIS-
TRY, ANATOMY, MATHE-
MATICS, GEOMETRY, A-
STRONOMY, ARITHMETIC,
GEOGRAPHY, NAVIGATION,
and CHRONOLOGY.

*By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University
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Crown, in Ludgate-Street. MDCC XXXVII.

TO

HIS MOST SERENE HIGHNESS

THE

Duke of CHARTRES.

MY LORD,

WHEN I began the Ancient History, YOUR MOST SERENE HIGHNESS was in the first years of Your infancy, and neither the Work nor its Author had the advantage of being known to You. Permit me to do at this time what I could not then, and in finishing my labour, to adorn it with the name of YOUR HIGHNESS.

Since His Highness the Duke of Orleans desired, that I should have the honour of assisting sometimes at Your studies, I have been personally a witness of the exact account You have given, almost always in His presence, of the whole series of this History; and it gave

DEDICATION.

me great satisfaction to see, that a Work of mine, intended principally for the instruction of Youth, was of some use to a Prince in whose education the public is so highly interested. Now you have entered into the Roman History, MY LORD, I serve you no longer as a guide ; and you advance in it with so rapid a pace, that I cannot so much as follow You : but I have at least the pleasure of seeing and admiring Your progress.

In the continual attention to inspire You with sentiments worthy of Your birth, it is with great reason, MY LORD, that a distinguished preference to all the other exercises of Literature is given to History. History, as it is more capable than any other of forming their minds and hearts, is properly the study of Princes. Besides setting before them illustrious examples of all the virtues that suit their high station, it has the power of telling them the truth at all times, and of shewing them even their own faults, without fear of offending the delicacy of their self-love. As it censures vices in a manner not personal to them, they find its judgment neither bitter nor offensive. In speaking of Philip and Alexander his son, when it describes the mean and unworthy actions, that sullied the glory of their reigns, are they not so many lessons for all Princes, so unfortunate to abandon themselves to the same excesses ?

Modest

DEDICATION.

Modest and fearful Truth, rarely admitted into the palaces of the Great, dares not give them lessons in her own person face to face. She borrows the voice of History, and concealed under the disguise of that name, gives Princes with assurance advice, which perhaps they would never receive from any other quarter, so much is disgrace apprehended from salutary but dangerous Remonstrances.

You detest flattery even now, MY LORD, and suffer even the justest praises with pain. You sincerely love truth, even when it might not be agreeable to You. I shall never forget Your wise answer on an occasion, wherein I made use of the liberty You had given me, of representing to You whatever I might believe for Your advantage. Far from taking offence at it, You were pleased to declare, that you knew me for one of Your best friends by that mark. Yes, MY LORD, (suffer me to repeat it after You) Your good, Your real, friends will always be those, who have the courage to tell You the truth, even at the hazard of Your displeasure: But unfortunately their number will always be very small.

For want of them, History, with which You will early have contracted a kind of familiarity, will supply You with abundance, and those of great fame: an Aristides, a Phocion, a Dion, a Cyrus, a Titus, and a Trajan, and

DEDICATION.

the many others already known to You. How many fine things, MY LORD, have these great men to say to You upon all that can render a Prince truly worthy of love and esteem! How easy an access will they find to an heart, like Yours, good, compassionate, docile, and void of pride and haughtiness! Our Greeks and Romans, MY LORD, are highly proper persons to undeceive the Great in respect to the false ideas they often form to themselves of glory and grandeur; which are usually made to consist either in the vain glitter of shining actions, or the frivolous trappings of ostentation and luxury; whereas those heroes of antiquity, all Pagans as they were, regarded pleasures, riches, pomp and magnificence, with contempt, and believed themselves invested with power only to do good, and to render mankind happy.

It must however be owned, MY LORD, that these virtues, how shining soever they were, wanted what was most essential to them: and though a reign like that of a Cyrus, or a Trajan, was capable in one sense of making the people happy; Princes would be very unfortunate, if they contented themselves with those phantoms of virtue which had neither life nor soul in them. Now that life, that soul, MY LORD, is piety, is the fear of God, without which all that is greatest in this world is mere shadow and nothing.

What

DEDICATION.

What profane History cannot supply You with, MY LORD, You have the advantage of seeing every moment before Your eyes in the person of Your Father, in whom piety exalts all His other excellent qualities, and who esteems the happiness of being a Christian infinitely more than the high rank of first Prince of the blood of France. May You, MY LORD, imitate and (I am not afraid of offending Him when I say it) surpass the examples He sets before You. These are the wishes I incessantly make for YOUR MOST SERENE HIGHNESS, which without doubt will be more agreeable to You than all the praises I could give You. I am with profound respect and entire devotion,

MY LORD,

Your Most SERENE HIGHNESS'S

Most Humble,

AND

Most Obedient Servant,

C. ROLLIN.



T O

KINGSMILL EVANS

Of *Lincoln's-Inn*, Esq; Barrister at
L A W.

S I R,

THOUGH these Sheets upon Polite Learning and Philosophy could not be inscribed to a better Judge of them than You, the most essential quality in a Patron; neither That, nor the more common motives for addressees of this kind, induced me to prefix your name to them.

When I consider the language of Dedication, and that I am writing One to You, I am afraid to express the least part of what I, and every body that has the honour of knowing You, think of You, least it should be interpreted by others, as the usual strain of these Epistles. And indeed, how can one speak of You with the strictest truth, without giving room for the malignity of such Constructions?

To

DEDICATION.

To have known from early Youth all that the ripest years with the greatest talents attain of Real Science, That of Things: To live with freedom and gaiety in an age of universal Corruption of manners without a Vice : To have a goodness of Heart, to which nothing is comparable but goodness of Head in the same person : are Attributes so incredible, that one would scarce venture to advance them of any body. And yet, Sir, forgive me for saying it, I never think of You, but I have these Ideas. It is to them You owe this small Present ; and that I might do the little studies You first recommended to me, the greatest honour of which I conceived them capable. I am with the utmost respect,

S I R ,

Your most Humble

A N D

Most Obedient Servant,

J O H N S T A C I E.

THE

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 OF
 POLITE LEARNING,
 OR THE
 BELLES LETTRES.

INTRODUCTION.

POESY, History, and Eloquence, which are the subjects of this twenty-fifth Book, include whatever is principally meant by Polite Learning, or the *Belles Lettres*. Of all the parts of literature, this has the most charms, displays the most lustre, and is in some sense the most capable of doing a nation honour by works, which, if I may be allowed the expression, are the flower, the brightest growth, of the most refined and most exquisite wit. I would not hereby be thought to undervalue the other sciences in the least, of which I shall speak in the sequel, and which cannot be too highly esteemed. I only observe, that, those we are to treat of in this place, have something more animated, more shining, and consequently more apt to strike mankind, and to excite their admiration; that they are accessible to a greater number of persons, and enter more universally than the rest into the use and

VOL. XII. B commerce

INTRODUCTION.

commerce of men of wit. Poësy seasons the solidity of her instructions with attractive graces, and the pleasing images, in which she industriously conveys them. History, in recounting the events of past ages in a lively and agreeable manner, excites and gratifies our curiosity, and at the same time gives useful lessons to kings, princes, and persons of all conditions, under borrowed names, to avoid offending their delicacy. And lastly eloquence, now shewing herself to us with a simple and modest grace, and now with all the pomp and majesty of a potent queen, charms the soul, whilst she engages the heart, with a sweetness and force, against which there is no resistance.

Athens and Rome, those two great theatres of human glory, have produced the greatest men of the antient world as well for valour and military knowledge, as ability in the arts of government. But would those great men have been known, and their names not been buried with them in oblivion, without the aid of the arts in question, that have given them a kind of immortality, of which mankind are so jealous? Those two cities themselves, which are still universally considered as the primitive sources of good taste in general, and which, in the midst of the ruins of so many empires, preserved a taste for polite learning, that never will expire; are they not indebted for that glory to the excellent works of poësy, history, and eloquence, with which they have enriched the universe?

Rome seemed in some sort to confine herself to this taste for the Belles Lettres; at least she excelled in an eminent degree only in this kind of knowledge, which she considered as more useful and more glorious than all other. Greece was more rich as to the number of sciences, and embraced them all without distinction. Her illustrious persons, her princes, and kings, extended their protection to science in general, of whatsoever kind and denomination.

nation. Not to mention the many others who have rendered their names famous on this account, to what was Ptolemy Philadelphus indebted for the reputation that distinguished him so much amongst the kings of Egypt, but to his particular care in drawing learned men of all kinds to his court, in loading them with honours and rewards, and by their means in causing all arts and sciences to flourish in his dominions. The famous library of Alexandria, enriched by his truly royal magnificence with so considerable a number of books, and the celebrated Museum, where all the learned assembled, have made his name more illustrious, and acquired him a more solid and lasting glory, than the greatest of conquests could have done.

France does not give place to Egypt in this point, to say no more. The king's famous library, infinitely augmented by the magnificence of Lewis XIV, is not the least illustrious circumstance of his reign. His successor Lewis XV, who signalized the beginning of his own by the glorious establishment of free instruction in the university of Paris, to tread in the steps of his illustrious great-grandfather, has also piqued himself upon making the augmentation and decoration of the royal library his peculiar care. In a few years he has enriched it with from fifteen to eighteen thousand printed volumes, and almost eight thousand manuscripts, part of the library of Mr. Colbert, the most scarce and antient come down to us; without mentioning those brought very lately from Constantinople by the Abbé Sevin: so that the king's library at present amounts to about ninety thousand printed volumes, and from thirty to thirty-five thousand manuscripts. It only remained to deposite so precious a treasure in a manner that might evidence all its value, and answer the reputation and glory of the kingdom. This Lewis XV has also done, to fulfil the intentions of his great-grandfather, by causing a superb edifice to be prepared for his library, which is

INTRODUCTION.

already the admiration of all strangers, and, when finished, will be the most magnificent receptacle for books in Europe.

The Museum of Alexandria was much admired: but what was it in comparison with our academies of architecture, sculpture, painting; the * *Academie Françoise*, that of polite learning or the *Belles Lettres*, and that of Sciences. Add to these the two most antient foundations of the kingdom; the College royal, where all the learned languages, and almost all the sciences are taught; and the University of Paris, the mother and model of all the academies in the world, whose reputation so many ages have not impaired, and who, with her venerable wrinkles, continually retains the air and bloom of youth. If the number of the learned, who fill all these places, are added to the account, and their pensions estimated, it must be owned, that the rest of Europe has nothing comparable to France in these respects. For the honour of the present reign and ministry, I cannot forbear observing, that during the war lately terminated so happily and gloriously for us, the payment of all those pensions of the learned was neither suspended nor delayed.

The reader will, I hope, pardon this small digression, which however is not entirely foreign to my subject, for the sake of the warm love of my country, and the just sense of gratitude that occasioned it. Before I proceed to my subject, I think myself obliged to take notice, that I shall make great use of many of the dissertations in the Memoirs of the academy of inscriptions and Belles Lettres, especially in what relates to poesy. Those extracts will shew how capable that academy is of preserving the good taste of the antients.

* Academie Françoise, established 1635, for the purity of the French tongue.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Poets.

IT is evident, if we consider poetry in the purity of its first institution, that it was invented originally to render the public homage of adoration and gratitude to the Divine Majesty, and to teach men the most important truths of religion. This art, which seems so profane in our days, had its birth in the midst of festivals, instituted in honour of the Supreme Being. On those solemn days, when the Hebrews celebrated the remembrance of the wonders God had wrought in their favour, and when, at rest from their labours, they gave themselves up to an innocent and necessary joy, all places resounded with canticles and sacred song, whose noble, sublime, and majestic stile suited the greatness of the God they praised. In those divine canticles what throngs do we not see of the most lively and animated beauties ! Rivers rolling back to their sources ; seas opening and flying with dread ; hills that skip, and mountains that melt like wax and disappear ; heaven and earth trembling and listening with awe and silence ; and all nature in motion, and shaken before the face of its author.

But as the human voice alone failed in the utterance of such amazing wonders, and seemed too weak to the people to express the lively sense of gratitude and adoration with which they were animated, to express them with greater force, they called in to their aid the big voices of thundring drums, trumpets, and all other instruments of music. In a kind of transport and religious enthusiasm this did not suffice ; and the body was also made to have a part in the holy joy of the soul by impetuous but concerted emotions, in order that every thing in man might render ho-

image to the Divinity. Such were the beginnings of music, dancing, and poetry.

What man of good taste, who, though not full of respect for the sacred books, should read the songs of Moses with the same eyes he reads the odes of Pindar, but would be obliged to own that this Moses, whom we know as the first historian and legislator of the world, is at the same time the first and most sublime of poets? In his writings, poetry even at the first instant of its birth appears perfect, because God himself inspires it, and the necessity of arriving by degrees at perfection, is a condition annexed only to arts of human invention. The prophets and the psalms present us also with the like models. In them shines out that true poetry in all her majesty of light, which excites none but happy passions, which moves the heart without depraving it, which pleases without soothing our frailties, which engages our attention without amusing us with trivial and ridiculous tales, which instructs us without disgust, which makes us know God without representing him under images unworthy of the divine nature, and which always surprizes without leading us astray thro' fantastic regions and chimerical wonders. Always agreeable, always useful; noble by bold expressions, glowing figures, and still more by the truths she denounces, it is she alone that deserves the name of divine language.

When men had transferred to creatures the homage due only to the Creator, poetry followed the fortune of religion, always preserving however traces of her first origin. She was employed at first to thank the false divinities for their supposed favours, and to demand new ones. She was soon indeed applied to other uses: but in all times care was taken to bring her back to her original destination. Hesiod has wrote the genealogy of the gods in verse: a very antient poet composed the hymns usually ascribed to Homer; of which kind of poem Callimachus afterwards wrote others. Even the works, that turned

upon different subjects, conducted and decided the events they related by the intervention and ministration of divinities. They taught mankind to consider the gods as the authors of whatever happens in nature. Homer, and the other poets, every where represent them as the sole arbiters of our destinies. It is by them our courage is either exalted or depressed; they give or deprive us of prudence; dispense success and victory; and occasion repulse and defeat. Nothing great or heroic is executed without the secret or visible assistance of some divinity. And of all the truths they inculcate, they present none more frequently to our views, and establish none with more care, than that valour and wisdom are of no avail without the aid of Providence.

One of the principal views of poetry, and which was a kind of natural consequence of the first, was also to form the manners. To be convinced of this, we have only to consider the particular end of the several species of poetry, and to observe the general practice of the most illustrious poets. The Epic poem proposed from the first to give us instructions disguised under the allegory of an important and heroic action. The Ode, to celebrate the exploits of great men, in order to excite the general imitation of others. Tragedy, to inspire us with horror for guilt, by the fatal effects that succeed it; and with veneration for virtue, by the just praises and rewards which attend it. Comedy and satire, to correct whilst they divert us, and to make implacable war with vice and folly. Elegy, to shed tears upon the tombs of persons, who deserve to be lamented. And lastly the pastoral poem, to sing the innocence and pleasures of rural life. If any of these kinds of poetry have in succeeding times been employed to different purposes, it is certain, that they were made to deviate from their natural institution, and that in the beginning they all tended to the same end, which was to render man better.

I shall pursue this subject no farther, which would carry me beyond my bounds. I confine myself in speaking of the poets to those who have distinguished themselves most in each kind of poetry, and shall begin with the Greeks. I shall then proceed to the Latines, partly uniting them however sometimes, especially when it may seem necessary to compare them with each other.

As I have occasionally treated part of what relates to these illustrious writers elsewhere, to avoid useless and tedious repetitions, the reader will permit me to refer him thither, when the same matter recurs.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Greek poets.

EVERY body knows, that poesy was brought into Italy from Greece, and that Rome is indebted to her for all the reputation and glory she acquired of this kind.

SECT. I.

Of the Greek poets, who excelled in epic poetry.

I DO not rank either the Sibyls, or Orpheus, and Musæus, in the number of the poets. All the learned agree, that the poems ascribed to them are supposititious.

HOMER.

Herod. The period of time when Homer was born is not
 l. 2. c. 52. very certain. Herodotus places it four hundred years
 A. M. before himself, and Usher fixes the birth of Hero-
 3120. dotus in the year of the world 3520. According to
 Ant. J. C. which Homer must have been born in the year 3120,
 884. that is to say, 340 years after the taking of Troy.

We have no better assurances concerning the place of his nativity, for which honour seven cities contended.

tended. Smyrna seems to have carried it against the rest.

I have spoke of epic poetry and Homer towards the end of the second volume of this history, and with much greater extent in the first of my treatise upon the study of the Belles Lettres, where I have endeavoured to give the reader a taste of the beauties of this poet.

Virgil, if we may judge of his views by his work, seems to have proposed no less to himself than to dispute the superiority of epic poetry with Greece, and borrowed arms from his rival himself for that purpose. He justly discerned, that as he was to bring the hero of his poem from the banks of the Scamander, it would be necessary for him to imitate the Odyssæy, which contains a great series of voyages and narratives; and as he was to make him fight for his settlement in Italy, that it would be as necessary to have the Iliad perpetually before his eyes, which abounds with action, battles, and all that intervention of the gods, which heroic poetry requires. Æneas makes voyages like Ulysses, and fights like Achilles. Virgil has interwoven the forty-eight books of Homer in the twelve of the Æneid. In the six first we discover the Odyssæy almost universally, as we do the Iliad in the six last.

The Greek poet has a great advantage, and no less pretence of superiority, from having been the original, which the other copied; and what * Quintilian says of Demosthenes in regard to Cicero, may with equal justice be applied to him, that however great Virgil may be, Homer in a great measure made him what he is. This advantage does not however fully decide their merit, and to which of them the preference ought to be given, will always be a matter of dispute.

* Cedendum vero in hoc quidem, quod & ille (Demosthenes) prior fuit, & ex magna parte

Ciceronem, quantus est, fecit. *Lib. 10. cap. 1.*

We

We may in this point abide by the judgment of Quintilian, who, whilst he leaves the question undecided in a few words, perfectly specifies the characters, that distinguish those two excellent poets. He tells us, there is more genius, and force of nature in the one, and more art and application in the other; and that what is wanting in Virgil on the side of the sublime, in which the Greek poet is indisputably superior, is perhaps compensated by the justness and equality that prevail universally throughout the *Æneid*. *Et hercle, ut illi naturæ cælesti atque immortalis cesserimus, ita curæ & diligentiae vel ideo in hoc plus est, quod ei fuit magis laborandum: & quantum eminentioribus vincimur, fortasse æqualitate pensamus.* It is very hard to characterise these two poets better. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are two great paintings, of which the *Æneid* is an abridgment or miniature. The latter requires a nearer view: every thing in it therefore must be perfectly finished. But great pictures are seen at distance: it is not necessary, that they should be so exact and regular in all their strokes: two scrupulous a niceness is even a fault in such paintings.

HESIOD.

Ascræum-que senem,
Eclog. 6. *HESIOD* is said to have been born at Cumæ, a city of *Æolia*, but brought up from his infancy at *Ascra*, a small town of *Bœotia*, which from thence passed for his country: Virgil also calls him the old man of *Ascra*. Authors differ much concerning the time in which he lived. The most general opinion is, that he was *Homer's* cotemporary. Of all his poems only three have come down to us: these are, *The Works and Days*; *The Theogonia*, or, the genealogy of the gods; and *The Shield of Hercules*; of which I have spoken elsewhere.

Vol. II.
of Ancient
History.

Quintilian gives us his character in these words *.

“ *Hesiod*

* *Raro assurgit Hesiodus, magna- que pars ejus in nomini- bus est occupata: tamen utiles circa præcepta sententiæ, lenitasque*

“ Hesioid seldom rises upon himself, and the greatest
 “ part of his works consists almost entirely of pro-
 “ per names. He has however useful sentences for
 “ the conduct of life, with sweetness enough of
 “ words, and no unhappiness of style. He is al-
 “ lowed to have succeeded best in the middle way
 “ of writing.”

POETS *less known.*

TERPANDER. He was very famous both for poetry and music.

TYRTÆUS. He is believed to have been an A. M. 3356.
 Athenian. This poet made a great figure in the se- A. M. 3364.
 cond war of Messene. He excelled in celebrating mi- Pausan. l. 4. p. 244, &c.
 litary exploits. The Spartans had been several times
 defeated to their great discouragement. The oracle
 of Delphos bade them ask a man of the Athenians
 capable of assisting them with his counsel and abili-
 ties. Tyrtæus was sent them. The consequence at
 first did not answer the expectations of the Spartans.
 They were again defeated three times successively,
 and were upon the point of returning to Sparta in
 despair. Tyrtæus re-animated them by his verses,
 which breathed nothing but love of one's country
 and contempt of death. Having resumed courage
 they attacked the Messenians with fury, and the vic-
 tory they obtained upon this occasion, terminated a
 war they could support no longer to their advantage.
 They conferred the freedom of their city upon Tyr-
 tæus, a privilege they were by no means too profuse
 of at Lacedæmon, which made it exceedingly ho-
 nourable. The little that remains of his writings,
 shews that his style was very vigorous and noble. He
 seems transported himself with the ardor, he endea-
 vours to give his hearers.

tasque verborum & compositio- ma in illo medio dicendi ge-
 nis probabilis: daturque ei pal- nere. *Lib. 10. cap. 1.*

Tyrtæusque

Tyrtæusque mares animos in Martia bella
Versibus exacuit. *Horat. in Art. Poet.*

*By verse the warrior's fire Tyrtæus feeds,
And urges manly minds to glorious deeds.*

A. M. DRACO, a celebrated Athenian legislator. He
3368. composed a poem of three thousand lines, intituled,
'Υποθήκαι, in which he laid down excellent precepts for
the conduct of life.

A. M. ABARIS, a Scythian by nation according to
3368. Suidas, surnamed by others the Hyperborean. He
Suidas. composed several pieces of poetry. Stories of the
Herod. last absurdity are told of him, which even Herodotus
1. 4 c. 36. himself does not seem to believe. He contents him-
self with saying, that Barbarian had carried an ar-
row throughout the whole world, and that he ate no-
thing. Jamblicus goes farther, and pretends that
Jamb. in Abaris was carried by his arrow thro' the air, and
vit. Pyth. passed rivers, seas, and the most inaccessible places
in that manner, without being stopt by any obstacle.
It is said that upon account of a great plague that
raged in the country of the Hyperboreans, he was
deputed to Athens by those people.

A. M. CHÆRILUS. There were several poets of this
3676. name. I speak of him * in this place, who notwith-
standing the badness of his verses, in which there was
neither taste nor beauty, was however much esteemed
and favoured by Alexander the Great, from whom
he received as great a reward as if he had been an
excellent poet. Horace observes, that liberality ar-
gued little taste in that prince, who had been so de-

* Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Chærilus, incultus qui versibus & male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.

Idem rex ille, poema
Qui tam ridiculum tam carè prodigus emit,
Edicto vetuit ne quis se, præter Apellem,
Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret æra
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia. *Hor. Ep. 1. l. 2.*
licate

licate in respect to painting and sculpture, as to prohibit by an edict all painters except Apelles to draw his picture, and all statuaries, but Lysippus, to make his statue in brass. Sylla, amongst the Romans, acted as liberally, but with more prudence, than Alexander in regard to a poet, who had presented him with some wretched verses. * He ordered a reward to be given him upon condition that he would never write more : very hard terms to a bad poet, however reasonable in themselves.

ARATUS was of Soloe, a city of Cilicia. He † A. M. composed a poem upon astronomy, which was very 373². much esteemed by the learned, according to Cicero. Quintilian speaks less favourably of it. He says, || that the subject of Aratus was very dry and un-affecting, from having neither variety, passions, character, nor harangue in it : but that however he had done as much with it as his matter would admit, and had made choice of it as suiting his capacity. Cicero, at seventeen years of age, had translated the poem of Aratus into Latin verse, of which many fragments are come down to us in his treatise *De Natura Deorum*.

APOLLONIUS of Rhodes composed a poem up- A. M. on the expedition of the Argonauts : *Argonautica*. 375⁶.

He was a native of Alexandria, and had succeeded Eratosthenes as keeper of the famous library there in the reign of Ptolomæus Evergetes. Upon seeing himself ill treated by the other poets of that place, who loaded him with calumnies, he retired to Rhodes, where he passed the rest of his days. This occasioned his being furnished the *Rhodian*.

* Jussit ei præmium tribui, sub ea conditione ne quid postea scriberet. Cic. pro Arch. poet. n. 25.

† Constat inter doctos hominem ignarum Astrologiæ, ornatis- sime atque optimis versibus

Aratum de cælo stellisque dixisse.

|| Arati materia motu caret, ut in qua nulla varietas, nullus affectus, nulla persona, nulla cu- jusquam sit oratio. Sufficit ta- men operi, cui se parem credi- dit. Lib. 10. c. 1.

A. M. 3756. **EUPHORION** of Chalcis. Antiochus the Great intrusted him with the care of his library. * Virgil Eclog. 10. mentions him in his *Bucolicks*.
v. 50.

A. M. 3852. **NICANDER** of Colophon in Ionia, or, according to others, of Ætolia. He flourished in the time of Attalus, the last king of Pergamus. He composed some poems upon medicine; *Θηριακά* and *Ἀλεξίφάρμακα* and others upon agriculture, which † Virgil imitated in his *Georgics*.

A. M. 3856. **ANTIPATER** of Sidon. Cicero informs us, that he had so great a talent for poetry, and such a facility in making verses, that he could express himself extemporaneously in hexameters, or any other kind of verse, upon any subject. Valerius Maximus, and Pliny say, that he had a fever regularly once every year upon the same day; which was the day of his birth and death.
Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 194. Val. Max. l. 1. c. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 51.

A. M. 3318. **A. Licinius ARCHIAS**, for whom Cicero's oration is extant. He wrote a poem upon the war with the Cimbri, and began another upon Cicero's consulship. We have still some of his epigrams in the *Anthologia*.

Macrob. l. 5. c. 17. **PARTHENIUS** lived at the same time. He had been taken prisoner in the war with Mithridates, and was Virgil's master in Greek poetry.

A.D. 362. **APOLLINARIUS**, bishop of Laodiceæ in Syria. I do not consider him here as a bishop, but as a poet, who distinguished himself very much by christian poetry. Julian the Apostate had forbade all masters by a public edict, to teach the children of Christians the profane authors. The pretext for this edict was, that it was not consistent to explain them to youth as illustrious writers, and at the same time to condemn their religion. But the true motives for that

* Quid? Euphorionem transibimus? Quem nisi probasset Virgilius, idem nunquam certè conditorum Chalcidico versu carminum fecisset in *Bucolicis*

mentionem. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

† Quid? Nicandrum frustra secuti Macer atque Virgilius? *Quintil. ibid.*

prohibition were the great advantages the Christians found in the profane books against paganism. This edict induced the two Apollinarii to compose several works of use to religion.

The father, of whom we speak, and who was a Grammarian, wrote in heroic verse, and in imitation of Homer, the sacred history in four and twenty books down to the reign of Saul, denominating each book with a letter of the Greek alphabet. He imitated Menander in comedies, Euripides in tragedies, and Pindar in odes; taking his subjects from the holy scripture, and observing the character and stile of the several kinds of poetry in which he wrote, in order that the christians might dispense with the want of the profane authors in learning the Belles Lettres.

His son, who was a sophist, that is to say a rhetorician and philosopher, composed dialogues after the manner of Plato, to explain the gospels and the doctrine of the Apostles.

Julian's persecution was of so short a continuance, that the works of the Apollinarii became useless; and the profane authors were again read. Hence of all their poems none are come down to us, except the Psalms paraphrased by Apollinarius the elder, who had the misfortune to give into heterodox opinions concerning Jesus Christ.

St. GREGORY of Nazianzum, cotemporary A. D. with Apollinarius, composed also a great number of 350. verses of all kinds: Suidas makes them amount to thirty thousand, of which only a part have been preserved. Most of them were the employment and fruit of his retirement. Though he was very much advanced in years at the time he wrote them, we find in them all the fire and vigour that could be desired in the works of a young man.

In composing his poems, which served him for amusement in his solitude, and for consolation in his bodily infirmities, he had young persons, and those who love polite learning, in view. To withdraw
them

them from dangerous songs and poems, he was for supplying them not only with an innocent but useful diversion, and at the same time for rendering the truth agreeable to them. There is also reason to believe, that one of his views was to oppose poems, in which every thing was strictly orthodox, to those of Apollinarius, that contained abundance of opinions repugnant to the christian faith.

In making poesy subservient in this manner to religion, he recalled it to its primitive institution. He treated nothing in his verses but such subjects of piety, as might animate, purify, instruct, or elevate the soul to God. In proposing sound doctrine to Christians in them, he banishes from them all the filth and folly of fable; and would have thought it profaning his pen, to have employed it in reviving the heathen divinities, that Christ had come to abolish.

Such are the models we ought to follow. I speak here of a saint, who had all the beauty, vivacity, and solidity of wit, it is possible to imagine. He had been instructed in the Belles Lettres by the most able masters at that time of the pagan world. He had read with extreme application all the antient poets, of which we often find traces even in his prose writings. He contented himself with having acquired a refined taste of poetry from them, and with having thoroughly studied and comprehended all their beauties and delicacy; but never introduced any of the profane divinities into his own pieces; which were not readmitted by the poets till many ages after. Ought what those glorious ages of the church condemned and forbade to be allowed now? I have treated this * subject elsewhere with some extent.

A. D.
420.

For the honour of poesy and the poets, I ought not to omit mentioning EUDOCIA, the daughter of the sophist Leontius the Athenian, who, before she was a christian, and had married the emperor Theo-

* *Method of studying the Belles Lettres*, Vol. I.

dofius the younger, was called *Athenais*. Her father had given her an excellent education, and made her extremely learned and judicious. The furprizing beauty of her aspect was however inferior to that of her wit. She wrote an heroic poem upon her husband's victory over the Persians, and composed many other pieces upon pious subjects, of which we ought very much to regret the loss.

SYNESIUS, bishop of Ptolemais, lived at the same time. Only ten hymns of his are come down to us.

I pass over in silence many other poets mentioned by authors, but little known to us, and am afraid that I have already been only too long upon those of this kind.

I proceed now to the Tragic and Comic poets. But as I have treated both with sufficient extent in the fifth volume of this history, I shall do little more in this place than mention their names, and the times when they lived.

S E C T II.

Of the Tragic Poets.

THESPIIS * is considered as the inventor of A. M. tragedy. It is easy to judge how gross and im- 3480. perfect it was in its beginning. He smeared the faces of his actors with lees of wine, and carried them from village to village in a cart, from which they represented their pieces. He lived in the time of So- Plut. in lon. That wise legislator, being present one day at Solon. p. one of these representations, cried out, striking the 95. ground with his stick, *I am very much afraid, that*

* Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camœnæ
Dicitur & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.

Horat. Art. Poet.

these poetical fictions, and ingenious fancies, will soon have a share in our public and private affairs.

A. M.
3508.

ÆSCHYLUS † was the first that improved tragedy, and placed it in honour. He gave his actors masks, more decent dresses, the high-heel'd boot or buskin called *Cothurnus*, and built them a little theatre. || His manner of writing is noble, and even sublime; his elocution lofty, and soaring often to bombast.

Plut. in
Cimon.
P. 483.

In a public dispute of the tragic poets, instituted upon account of the bones of Theseus which Cimon had brought to Athens, the prize was adjudged to Sophocles. The grief of Æschylus was so great upon seeing himself deprived by a young poet of the glory he had so long possessed, of being the most excellent in the theatre, that he could not bear to stay in Athens any longer. He left it, and retired to Sicily to the court of king Hiero, where he died in a very singular manner. As he lay asleep in the country with his baldhead uncovered, an eagle taking it for a stone, let fall a heavy tortoise upon it, which killed him. Of fourscore and ten tragedies which he composed, some say only twenty-eight, and others no more than thirteen, carried the prize.

Suid.

A. M.
3532.

SOPHOCLES and EURIPIDES. These two * poets appeared at the same time, and rendered the Athenian stage very illustrious by tragedies equally admirable, though very different in their stile. The first was great, lofty, and sublime: the other tender, pathetic, and abounding with excellent maxims for the manners and conduct of human life. The judgment of the public was divided in respect to them; as we

† Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, & modicis instravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique Cothurno. *Hor. ibid.*

|| Tragœdias primus in lucem
Æschylus protulit, sublimis, gra-
vis, & grandiloquus, sæpe usque
ad vitium. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

* Longe clarius illustrave-

runt hoc opus Sophocles atque
Euripides: quorum in dispari
dicendi vi uter sit poeta melior,
inter plurimos quæritur. *Quintil.*
ibid.

are at this day in regard to † two poets, who have done so much honour to the French stage, and made it capable of disputing pre-eminence with that of Athens.

S E C T. III.

Of the Comic Poets.

EUPOLIS, CRATINUS, and ARISTOPHANES A. M. 3564. made the comedy, called *antient comedy*, very famous. This served the Greeks instead of satire. The highest perfection of what is called *Atticism*, was peculiar to it, that is to say, whatever is finest, most elegant, and most delicate in style, to which no other poetry could come near. I have spoke of it elsewhere.

MENANDER. He invented, and excelled all others in the *New comedy*. A. M. 3580. Plut. in Moral. p. 853. Plutarch prefers him infinitely to Aristophanes. He admires an agreeable, refined, delicate, lively spirit of humour, a vein of pleasantry in him, that never departs in the least from the strictest rules of probity and good manners: whereas the bitter and merciless raillery of Aristophanes is excessive abuse, is murder in jest, that without the least reserve tears the reputation of the most worthy to pieces, and violates all the laws of modesty and decency with an impudence that knows no bounds. * Quintilian is not afraid to declare, that the brightness of Menander's merit had entirely eclipsed and obliterated the reputation of all the writers in the same way. But the greatest praise which can be given this poet, is to say, that Terence, who scarce did any thing besides copying his plays, is allowed by good judges to have fallen very short of his original.

Aulus Gellius has preserved some passages of Menander, which had been imitated by Cæcilius an Lib. 2. c. 23.

† Corneille & Racine.

* Atque ille quidem omnibus ejusdem operis auctoribus abstu-

lit nomen, & fulgore quodam suæ claritatis tenebras obduxit. *Ibid.*

tient Latin comic poet. At the first reading he thought the verses of the latter very fine. But he affirms, that as soon as he compared them with those of the Greek poet, their beauty entirely disappeared, and they seemed wretched and contemptible.

Menander was not treated with all the justice he deserved during his life. Of more than an hundred comedies which he brought upon the stage, only eight carried the prize. Whether through intrigue or combination against him, or the bad taste of the judges, PHILEMON †, who undoubtedly deserved only the second place, was always preferred before him.

In the fifth volume we have explained all that relates to the Antient, Middle, and New comedy.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Iambic Poets.

A. M.
3280.

ARCHILOCHUS, a native of Paros, the inventor of Iambic verses, lived in the reign of Candaules king of Lydia. See what we have said of him towards the end of the second volume.

A. M.
3460.
Suidas.

HIPPONAX was a native of Ephesus. Upon being expelled from thence by the tyrants that governed there, he went and settled at Clazomenæ. He was ugly, short, and thin: but his ugliness occasioned his being immortalized; for he is hardly known by any thing except the satyrical verses he composed against the brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, two sculptors who had made his figure in the most ridiculous manner in their power. He discharged such a number of keen and virulent verses against them, that, according to some authors, they hanged themselves thro' vexation. But Pliny observes, that

† Philemon, ut pravus fui
temporis judicii Menandro sæpe
prælatum est, ita consensu

omnium meruit credi secundus.
Quintil. ibid.

statues of theirs were in being, made after that time. The invention of the verse called Scazon, *limping*, is ascribed to Hipponax, in the last foot of which there is always a spondee instead of an Iambus.

S E C T. V.

Of the Lyric Poets.

TH E poetry, which was made to be sung to the lyre, or the like instruments, was called *Lyric Poetry*. Compositions of this kind were named odes, that is to say, songs, and were divided into strophes or stanzas.

The end of poetry is to please the imagination. But if the different kinds of poetry, as the pastoral, elegiac, and epic, attain that end by different means, the ode attains it more certainly, because it includes them all; and as the famous painter of old united in one picture all that he had observed of most graceful and consummate in many of the fair sex, so the ode unites in itself all the different beauties, of which the different species of poetry are susceptible. But it has still something else peculiar to itself, which constitutes its true character. This is enthusiasm; in which view the poets believe, they may also compare her to that Juno of Homer, who borrows the girdle of Venus to exalt the graces of her form, but who is still the same queen of the gods, distinguished by the air of majesty peculiar to her, and even by the fury and violence of her character.

This enthusiasm is more easy to conceive, than possible to define. When a writer is seized with it, his genius glows ardent, his imagination catches fire, and all the faculties of his soul awake, and concur to the perfection of his work. Now noble thoughts and the most shining strokes of wit, and now the most tender and beautiful images, crowd upon him.

The warmth also of his enthusiasm often transports him in such a manner, that he can contain himself no longer ; he then abandons himself to that living impetuosity, that beautiful disorder, which infinitely transcend the regularity of the most studious art.

These different impressions produce different effects : descriptions sometimes simple but exquisitely beautiful, and sometimes rich, noble, and sublime ; comparisons just and lively ; shining strokes of morality ; allusions happily borrowed from history or fable ; and digressions a thousand times more beautiful than the chain of the subject itself. Harmony, the soul of verse, at this moment costs the poet no trouble. Noble expressions, and happy numbers spontaneously rise up, and dispose themselves in due order, like stones to the lyre of Amphion ; and nothing seems the effect of study or pains. The poems of enthusiasm have such a peculiar beauty, that they can neither be read or heard without imparting the same fire that produced themselves ; and the effect of the most exquisite music is neither so certain nor so great, as that of verses born in this poetic fury, this diviner flame of the mind.

This little passage, which I have extracted from the short but eloquent dissertation of the Abbé Frauguiet upon Pindar, suffices to give the reader a just idea of lyric poetry, and at the same time of Pindar, who holds the first rank amongst the nine Greek poets that excelled in this way of writing, of whom it remains for me to say a few words.

A. M.
3135.
Plut. in
Lycurg.
p. 41.

Plutarch speaks of * THALES, whom Lycurgus persuaded to go and settle at Sparta. He was a lyric poet, (not one of the nine mentioned just before) but under the appearance of composing only songs, he in effect did all that the gravest legislators could

* Plutarch seems to confound this Thales with Thales of Miletus, one of the seven sages, who lived above two hundred and fifty years after him.

have been capable of doing. For all his poetical pieces were so many discourses to incline men to obedience and concord by the means of certain numbers so harmonious, so elegant, strong, and sweet, that they insensibly rendered the manners of those that heard them less rude and savage, and induced a love of order and probity, by banishing the animosities and divisions that prevailed amongst them. Thus by the charming impressions of a melodious kind of poetry, he prepared the way for Lycurgus to instruct and amend his citizens.

ALCMAN was a native of Sardis in Lydia. The A. M. Lacedæmonians adopted him on account of his merit, and granted him the freedom of their city, upon which he congratulates himself in his poems as a singular honour to him. He flourished in the time of Ardy, son of Gyges, king of Lydia. 3324. Plut. de exil. p. 599.

STESICHORUS was of Himera, a city of Sicily. Pausanias relates, that this poet having lost his sight as a punishment for verses which he had made in dispraise of Hellen, did not recover it, till he had recanted his invectives by a new piece, the reverse of the former, which was afterwards called *Palinodia*. Quintilian † tells us, that he sung of great wars, and the most illustrious heroes, and that he sustained the pomp and sublimity of epic poetry on the lyre. Horace gives him the same character in a single epithet, *Stesichorique graves Camæne*, Stesichorus's lofty muse. A. M. 3398. Pausan. in Lacon. p. 220.

ALCÆUS. He was born at Mitylene, a city of Lesbos: it is from him the Alcaic verse took its name. A. M. 3400. He was a declared enemy to the tyrants of Lesbos, and in particular to Pittacus, whom he perpetually lashed in his poems. He is said to have been seized with such terror in a battle, where he happened to Herod. 1. 5. c. 95.

† Stesichorum, quam sit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque ostendunt, maxima bella & cla-

rissimos canentem duces, & Epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem. *Lib. 10. cap. 1.*

be, that he threw down his arms, and fled. † Horace relates a like adventure of himself. Poets pique themselves less upon their valour than their wit. || Quintilian says, that the stile of Alcæus is close, lofty, correct, and, what crowns his praise, that he very much resembles Homer.

SAPPHO. She was of the same place, and lived at the same time with Alcæus. The Sapphic verse is so called from her. She had three brothers, Larychus, Eurygius, and Charaxus. She celebrated the first extremely in her poems, and on the contrary is as severe against Charaxus, for being desperately in love with the courtesan Rhodope, the same that built one of the pyramids of Egypt.

Sappho composed a considerable number of poems, of which only two are come down to us, but these suffice to prove, that the praises given her by all ages for the beauty, passion, numbers, harmony, and infinite delicacies of her verse, are not without foundation. Hence she was called the *Tenth Muse*, and the people of Mitylene caused her image to be stamped on their coin.

It were to be wished that the purity of her manners had equalled the beauty of her genius, and that she had not dishonoured her sex and poetry by her vices and licentiousness.

It is said, that frantic with despair thro' the obstinate resistance to her desires of Phaon, a young man of Lesbos, she threw herself into the sea from the top of the promontory of Leucadia in Acarnania: a remedy frequently used in Greece by those who were unfortunate in this passion.

A M. 3512.
Her. l. 3. p. 121.
ANACREON. This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He passed much of his time at the court of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, famous for the un-

† Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Sensi, relicta non bene parmula.

|| In eloquendo brevis, & magnificus, & diligens, plerumque Homero similis, l. 10. c. 1,

interrupted

interrupted prosperity of his life, and tragical end; and was not only of all his parties of pleasure, but of his council. Plato informs us, that Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, sent a galley of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote to him in the most obliging terms, to prevail upon him to come to Athens, where his fine works would be esteemed and tasted according to their merit. Joy and pleasure are said to have been his sole study, as indeed we may well believe from what remains of his poems. They every where shew, that his hand wrote what his heart felt, and are of a delicacy more easy to conceive than express. Nothing would be more estimable than his compositions, had their object been better.

SIMONIDES. He was of the island of Cea, A. M. one of the Cyclades in the Ægean sea. He wrote the famous naval battle of Salamin in the doric dialect. * His stile was delicate, natural, and agreeable. He was pathetic, and excelled in exciting compassion, which was his peculiar talent, and that by which the antients have characterised him.

Paulum quidlibet allocutionis
Mœstius lachrymis Simonideis. *Catull.*
Something sadder to my ears
Than Simonides in tears.

Horace says of him to the same effect :

Sed ne, relictis, musa procax, jocis,
Cææ retractes munera nœniæ.
But whither, wanton muse, away,
Wherefore cease we to be gay,
Things of woe why thus prolong,
Things that fit the Cean's song?

* Simonides tenuis, alioqui sermone proprio & jucunditate quadam commendari potest. Præcipua tamen ejus in commo-
venda miseratione virtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus ejusdem operis auctoribus præferant. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

IBYCUS.

A. M. 3464. **IBYCUS.** Nothing is known of him, besides his name, and a few fragments come down to us.

A. M. 3552. **BACCHYLIDES.** He was of the island of Cea and the son of a brother of Simonides. Hiero preferred his poems to those of Pindar in the Pythian games. Ammianus Marcellinus says, that Julian the Apostate delighted much in reading this poet.

A. M. 3528. **PINDAR.** Quintilian places him at the head of the nine lyric poets. His peculiar merit and prevailing character are that majesty, that grandeur, and sublimity, which often exalt him above the rules of art, to which it were wrong to expect, that the productions of a great genius should be servilely confined. We find in his odes a sensible effect of the enthusiasm, I have spoken of in the beginning of this section. It might appear a little too bold, if not softened with a mixture of less ardent and more agreeable beauties. The poet discerned this himself; which made him strew flowers abundantly from time to time. His celebrated rival Corynna reproached him with excess in this point.

Horace indeed praises him only in respect to sublimity. He calls it a swan, born by the impetuosity of his flight, and the aid of the winds, above the clouds; a torrent, that, swelled by rains, bears down all before it in the rapidity of its course. But to consider it in other lights; it is a smooth stream, rolling its clear pure waves over golden sands, thro' flowry banks and verdant plains; a bee, collecting whatever is most precious from the flowers, for the composition of its fragrant nectar.

His style is always suited to his manner of thinking, close, concise, without too many express connections, or transitory terms: those imply themselves sufficiently in the chain of his matter, and their absence exalts the vigour of his verses. Attention to transitions would have abated the poet's fire, in giving his enthusiasm time to cool.

In speaking thus of Pindar, I do not pretend to propose him as an author without faults. I own he has some, which it is not easy to excuse : but at the same time, the number and greatness of the beauties, with which they are attended, ought to cover and almost make them disappear. Horace, who is a good judge of every thing, and especially of our present subject, must have had a very high idea of his merit, as he is not afraid to say, that to emulate him is manifest temerity : *Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari, &c.*

Pindar had a dangerous rival in the person of *Ælian*. CORYNNA, who excelled in the same kind of poetry, ^{l. 13. c. 25.} and five times carried the prize against him in the public disputes. She was surnamed *the Lyric Muse*.

Alexander the Great, when he ruined the city of *Plut. in* Thebes, the country of our illustrious poet, long after his death, paid a just and glorious homage to his ^{Alex. p. 672.} merit in the persons of his descendants, whom he distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants of that unfortunate place, by ordering particular care to be taken of them.

I have spoke elsewhere of some of Pindar's works, in the history of Hiero : the reader may consult the passage, Vol. III.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Elegiac poets.

ELEGY, according to Didymus, is derived from *ἐλγειν*, to say, *ah ! ah ! or alas !* And according to others, from *ἐλεον λέγειν*, to say moving things. The Greeks, and after them the Latines, composed their plaintive poems, their elegies, in hexameter and pentameter verses. From whence every thing wrote in those verses has been called elegy, whether the subject be gay or sad.

Verſibus

Verfibus impariter junctis querimonia primum,
Mox etiam inclufa eft voti fententia compos.

Horat. in Art. Poet.

*Grief did at firft foft elegy employ,
That now oft dries her tears, to fmg of joy.*

No Greek elegy of the firft fort is come down to us, except that inferted by Euripides in his Andromache, which confifts only of fourteen lines. The inventor of this kind of poetry is not known.

Quis tamen exiguos elegos emiferit auctor,
Grammatici certant, & adhuc fub judice lis eft.

Ibid.

*Yet who firft figh'd in elegiac ftrain,
The learn'd ftill doubt, and ftill conteft in vain.*

As it was intended at its institution for tears and laments, it was employed at firft only in grief and misfortune. It expreffed no other fentiments, it breathed no other accents but thofe of sorrow. With the negligence natural to affliction and diftreff, it fought lefs to pleafe than to move; and aimed at exciting pity, not admiration. It was afterwards ufed on all forts of fubjects, and efpecially the paffion of love. It however always retained the character peculiar to it, and did not lofe fight of its original invention. Its thoughts were always natural and far from the affectation of wit; its fentiments tender and delicate, its expreffion fimple and eafy, always retaining that alternate inequality of meafure, which Ovid makes fo great a merit in it (*In pedibus vitium caufa decoris erat*) and which gives the elegiac poetry of the antients fo much the advantage over ours.

Periander, Pittacus, Solon, Chilo, and Hippias wrote their precepts of religion, morality and policy, in elegiac verfe, in which Theognis of Megara, and Phocylides, imitated them. Many of the Poets alfo,

of whom I have spoken before, composed elegies : but I shall say nothing here of any but those who applied themselves particularly to this kind of poetry, and shall make choice only of a small number of them.

CALLINUS. He was of Ephesus, and is one of A. M. the most antient of the elegiac poets. It is believed 3230. that he flourished about the beginning of [the Olympiads.

MIMNERMUS, of Colophon, or Smyrna, was A. M. cotemporary with Solon. Some make him the inven- 3408. tor of elegiac verse. He at least gave it its perfection, and was perhaps the first, who transferred it from funerals to love. The fragments of his, which are come down to us, breathe nothing but pleasure, whence Horace says of him,

Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore jocisque
Nil est jucundum, vivas in amore jocisque.

Horat. l. i. Epist. 6.

As Mimnermus thinks,

*If without love and pleasure nought is joy,
In love and pleasure life's swift hours employ.*

SIMONIDES, whose verses were so pathetic, A. M. might be ranked amongst the elegiac poets : but I 3444. have given him a place elsewhere.

PHILETAS of Cos, and **CALLIMACHUS** of Cyrene, A. M. lived both in the court of Ptolomy Philadelphus, 3724. whose preceptor Philetas certainly was, and Callimachus is believed to have been his librarian. The Quintil. latter is considered as the principal author of elegiac l. 10. c. 1. poetry, and as the person who succeeded best in it : *Cujus (elegæ) princeps Callimachus* ; and Philetas as the next to him : *Secundas, confessione plurimorum, Philetas occupavit.*

This is Quintilian's opinion : but Horace seems to rank Mimnermus above Callimachus.

Si

Si plus adposcere visus,
Fit Mimnermus, & optivo cognomine crescit.

Epist. 2. l. 2.

*Call him Callimachus? If more his claim,
Mimnermus he shall be, his wish'd surname.*

Callimachus had applied himself to every kind of literature.

S E C T. VII.

Of the epigrammatical poets.

TH E epigram is a short kind of poem, susceptible of all subjects, which ought to conclude with an happy, sprightly, just thought. The word in Greek signifies *Inscription*. Those which the ancients placed upon tombs, statues, temples, and triumphal arches, were sometimes in verse, but verse of the greatest simplicity of style. That name has since been confined to the species of poetry, of which I speak. The epigram generally consists of only a small number of lines : more extent however is sometimes given it.

I have said that this kind of poem is susceptible of all kinds of subjects. This is true, provided care be taken to exclude all calumny and obscenity from it.

The * liberty, which the comic poets gave themselves at Athens, of attacking the most considerable and most worthy of the citizens without reserve, made way for a law to prohibit the mangling of any

* In vitium libertas exedit, & vim

Dignam lege regi : lex est accepta, chorusque

Turpiter obtulit.

Horat. in Art. Poet.

Next comedy appeared with great applause,

Till her licentious and abusive tongue

Waken'd the magistrate's coercive power,

And forc'd it to suppress her insolence.

Roscommon.

body's

body's reputation in verse. At Rome, amongst † the laws of the twelve tables, which very rarely condemned to death, there was one, that made it capital for any body to defame a citizen in verse. Cicero's reason is no less just than remarkable. " This law, " says he, was wisely instituted. There are tribu- " nals, to which we may be cited to answer for our " conduct before the magistrates: our reputation " therefore ought not to be abandoned to the mali- " cious wit of the poets, nor scandalous accusations " suffered to be formed against us, without its being " in our power to answer them, and defend ourselves " before the judges." *Præclarè. Judiciis enim ac magistratuum disceptationibus legitimis propositam vitam, non poetarum ingeniis, habere debemus; nec probrum audire, nisi ea conditione, ut respondere liceat, & iudicio defendere.*

The second exception, which regards purity of manners, is neither less important, nor less founded in reason. Our propensity to evil and vice is already but too natural and headstrong, and does not want any incentives from the charms and insinuations of delicate verses, the poison of which, concealed under the flowers of pleasing poetry, to borrow the terms which * Martial applies to the Sirens, gives us a cruel joy, and, by its enchanting sweetness, conveys disease and bane into the soul. The wisest legislators of antiquity always considered those, who abuse the art of poetry to such purposes, as the pests of society, as the enemies and corrupters of mankind, that ought to be abhorred, and kept under with the

† Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus est
Judiciumque.

Nostræ contra XII. tabellæ, cum perpaucas res capite sanxis-
sent, in his hanc quoque sancien-
dam putaverunt, si quis acti-
tavisset, five carmen condidisset
quod infamiam afferret, flagi-
tiumve alteri. *Cic. de Rep. l. 4.*
apud S. August. l. 1. c. 9. Civit.

* Sirenas, hilarem navigantium pœnam,
Blandasque mortes, gaudiumque crudele.

highest

highest marks of infamy and disgrace. Such wise laws had not the good effect to be hoped from them, especially in respect to the epigram, which of all the species of poetry has abandoned itself most to obscenity.

In observing the two rules I have now laid down, epigrams would not have been dangerous, in respect to manners, and might have been useful as to style, by throwing into it occasionally and with discretion those agreeable, lively, quaint thoughts, which we find at the end of good epigrams. But, what in its origin was beauty, delicacy, and vivacity of wit, (which is properly what the Latins understand by the words, *acutus*, *acumen*,) soon degenerated into a vicious affectation, that extended even to prose, of which it became the fashion studiously to conclude almost all the phrases and periods with a glittering thought, in the nature of a point. We shall have occasion to expatiate farther upon that head.

F. Vavaseur the jesuit has treated the subject we are upon more at large, in the no less learned than elegant preface to the three books of epigrams, which he has given the public. There are also useful reflections upon the same subject in the book, called *Epigrammatum Delectus*.

We have a collection of Greek epigrams called *Anthologia*.

MELEAGER, a native of Gadara a city of Syria, who lived in the reign of Seleucus the last king of that realm, made the first collection of Greek epigrams, which he called *Anthologia*, because as he had chose the brightest and most florid epigrams of forty-six antient poets, he considered his collection as a nosegay, and denominated each of those poets after some flower, Anytus *the lilly*, Sappho *the rose*, &c. After him PHILIP of Theffalonica made a second collection, in the time of the emperor Augustus, out of only fourteen poets. AGATHIAS made a third, about five hundred years after, in the reign of the emperor

emperor Justinian. PLANUDES, a monk of Constantinople, who lived in the year 1380, made the fourth and last, which he divided into seven books, in each of which the epigrams are disposed in an alphabetical order according to their subjects. This is the *Anthologia* come down to us. He retrenched abundance of obscene epigrams, for which some of the learned are not a little angry with him.

There are a great many epigrams in this collection, that abound with wit and sense ; but more of a different character.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Latin poets.

POESY, as well as the other polite arts, did not find access till very late amongst the Romans, solely engrossed as they were during more than five hundred years by military views and expeditions, and void of taste for every thing called literature. By a new kind of victory, Greece, when conquered and reduced, subdued the victors in her turn, and exercised over them a power the more glorious, as it was the result of their will, and was founded upon a superiority of knowledge and science, no sooner known than homaged. That learned and polite nation, which was under the necessity of a strict commerce with the Romans, by degrees made them lose that air of rudeness and rusticity they still retained from their antient origin, and inspired them with a taste for the arts, that humanise, improve, and adorn society.

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
Intulit * agresti Latio. Sic horridus ille

Defluxit

* Horace here gives us the time when poetry began to improve
VOL. XII. D prove

Defluxit numerus Saturnius, & grave virus
Munditiæ pepulère. *Horat. Epist. 1. l. 2.*

*Greece conquer'd won her martial victors hearts,
And polish'd rustic Latium with her arts :
The rude hoarse strain expir'd of Saturn's days,
And the muse soften'd and refin'd our lays.*

This happy change began by poetry, whose principal view is to please, and whose charms, full of sweetness and delight, impart a taste for themselves soonest and with most ease. It was however very gross and unpolished in its beginning at Rome; and had its birth in the theatre, or at least began there to assume a more graceful and elegant air. It made its first essays in comedy, tragedy, and satyr, which it carried slowly and by insensible acquisitions to a great degree of perfection.

When the Romans had been almost four hundred years without any dramatic games, chance and debauch introduced the * Fescennine verses into one of their feasts, which served them instead of theatrical pieces near an hundred and twenty years. These verses were rude and almost void of numbers, as they were extemporaneous, and made by a rustic illiterate people, who knew no other masters but mirth and wine. They consisted of gross raillery, attended with postures and dances.

Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.

Horat. Epist. 1. l. 2.

prove among the Latines; for it was known in Italy very early, numerus Saturnius; and as Horace tells us again in the same epistle, at Rome in the time of Numa : Saliare Numæ

carmen.

** These verses were so called from Fescennia, a city of Etruria, from whence they were brought to Rome.*

Fescennia's

*Fescennia's license thus found out, the swains
Vented their taunts in rude alternate strains.*

To these loose and irregular verses soon succeeded ^{Liv. l. 7.} a chaster kind of poetry, which, though it also ^{n. 2.} abounded with pleasant ridicule, had nothing viciously indecent in it. This poem appeared under the name of Satyr, (*Satura*) from its variety, and had regular measures, that is to say, regular music and dances: but obscene postures were banished from it. These satyrs were innocent farces, in which the spectators and actors were indifferently made the objects of mirth.

Livius Andronicus found things in this state, ^{Liv. ibid.} when he conceived the design of making comedies and tragedies in imitation of the Greeks. Other poets followed his example, copying after the same originals: of these were Nævius, Ennius, Cæcilius, Pacuvius, Accius, and Plautus. These seven poets, of whom I am going to speak, lived almost all of them at the same time in the space of sixty years.

In what I propose to say here of the Latin poets, I shall not follow the order of the subject, as I have done in speaking of the Greek poets, but the order of time, which seemed to me the most proper for shewing the birth, progress, perfection, and decline of the Latin poetry.

I shall divide the whole time into three different ages. The first will consist of about two hundred years, during which Latin poetry had its birth, was improved, and gradually acquired strength. Its second age will consist of about an hundred years, from Julius Cæsar to the middle of Tiberius's reign, in which it attained its highest degree of perfection. The third age will contain the subsequent years, wherein, by a sufficiently rapid decline, it fell from that flourishing state, and at

length entirely degenerated from its antient reputation.

S E C T. I.

First age of Latin poetry.

LIVIVS ANDRONICUS.

Euseb. in
Chron.

THE poet Andronicus took the prænomen of Livius, because he had been set at liberty by M. Livius Salinator, whose daughters he had instructed.

A. M.

3764.

Cic. in

Brut. n. 72.

Aul. Gell.

l. 17. c. 21.

He represented his first tragedy an year before the birth of Ennius, the first year after the first Punic war, and the 514th of Rome, in the consulship of C. Claudius Cento and M. Sempronius Tuditanus; about an hundred and sixty years after the death of Sophocles and Euripides, fifty after that of Menander, and two hundred and twenty before that of Virgil.

CN. NÆVIUS.

A. M.

3769.

Aul. Gell.

ibid.

Euseb. in

Chron.

NÆVIUS, according to Varro, had served in the first Punic war. Encouraged by the example of Andronicus, he trod in his steps, and five years after him, began to give the public theatrical pieces: these were comedies. He drew upon himself the hatred of the nobility, and especially of one Metellus; which obliged him to quit Rome. He retired to Utica, where he died. He had composed the history of the first Punic war in verse.

A. M.

3764.

Aurel.

Vic. de

Vir. Illust.

c. 47.

1 Use.

n. 3.

Q. ENNIUS.

He was born the 514th or 515th year of Rome at Rudia a city of Calabria, and lived to the age of forty in Sardinia. It was there he came acquainted with Cato the Censor, who learnt the Greek language of him at a very advanced age, and

and afterwards carried him to Rome, as M. Fulvius Nobilior afterwards did to Ætolia. The son of this Nobilior caused the freedom of Rome to be granted him, which in those times was a very considerable honour. He had composed the annals of Rome in heroic verse, and was at the twelfth book of that work in his sixty-seventh year. He had also celebrated the victories of the first Scipio Africanus, with whom he had contracted a * particular friendship, and who always treated him with the highest marks of esteem and consideration. Some even believe that he gave his image a place in the tomb of the Scipios. He died in the seventieth year of his age.

Aul. Gell.
l. 17. c. 21.

Scipio was well assured, that the memory of his great actions would subsist as long as Rome, and as Africa continued in subjection to Italy: † but he also believed, that the writings of Ennius were highly capable of augmenting their splendor, and perpetuating their remembrance: a person, whose glorious victories merited rather an Homer to celebrate them, than a poet, whose style did but ill suit the grandeur of his actions!

It is easy to conceive, that the Latine poetry, in its infancy, and weak at the time we are speaking of, could not have much beauty and ornament. It sometimes shewed force and genius, but without elegance and grace, and with great inequality. This Quintilian, where he draws Ennius's cha-

* Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius. Itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus. Cic. *pro Arch. poet.* n. 22.

† Non incendia Carthaginis impiæ
Ejus, qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides.—*Hor. od.* 8. l. 4.
*Not impious Carthage burnt does more,
Than the Calabrian muse, proclaim
The hero's glory, who of yore
From conquer'd Afric took his name.*

racter, expresses by an admirable comparison. *Ennium sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia & antiqua robora jam non tantam habent speciem, quantam religionem.* "Let us reverence
 " Ennius, says he, as we do those groves, which
 " time hath consecrated and made venerable, and
 " of which the great and antient oaks do not strike
 " us so much with their beauty, as with a kind of
 " religious veneration."

Cicero in his treatise upon old age, relates a fact which ought to do Ennius's memory abundance of honour. He says, * "that poet at the age of
 " seventy, carried the two loads, which are com-
 " monly thought the hardest to bear, poverty and
 " old age, not only with such constancy but gaiety,
 " that it might almost be said he took delight in
 " them."

CÆCILIVS. PACUVIVS.

Euseb. in
Chron.

These two poets lived in the time of Ennius both however younger than him. The first, according to some, was a native of Milan, a comic poet, and at first lived with Ennius. Pacuvius, Ennius's nephew, was of Brundisium. He professed both poetry and painting, which have always been deemed sister-arts; and distinguished himself particularly in tragic poetry. Though † they lived in the time of Lælius and Scipio, that is to say at a time, to which the purity of language as well as manners seem singularly attached, their diction carries no air of so happy an age.

* Annos septuaginta natus, (tot enim vixit Ennius) ita ferebat duo, quæ maxima putantur onera, paupertatem & senectutem, ut eis penè delectari videretur. *De Senect.* n. 14.

† Mitto C. Lælium, P. Scipionem. *Ætatis illius ista fuit laus, tanquam innocentiae, sic Latine loquendi.* Non omnium tamen: nam illorum æquales Cæcilium & Pacuvium male locutos videmus. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 258.

Lælius however, one of the persons whom Cicero introduces in his dialogue upon friendship ||, in speaking of Pacuvius as of his particular friend, says, that the people received one of his plays called *Orestes* with uncommon applause, especially the scene where Pylades declares himself to be Orestes to the king, in order to save his friend's life, and the latter affirms himself to be the true Orestes. It is not impossible but that the beauty and spirit of the sentiments might on this occasion make the audience forget the want of justness and delicacy of expressions.

ATTIUS.

L. Attius or *Accius*, for his name is wrote both A. M. ways, was the son of a freedman. He exhibited ^{3864.} some tragedies in the time of Pacuvius, though al- ^{Euseb. in} most fifty years younger than him. We are told that ^{Chron.} some of them were performed in the edileship of ^{Aul. Gell.} the celebrated P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, in ^{l. i. c. i.} whose person five of the greatest advantages that could be possessed, are said to have been united: * great riches, illustrious birth, supreme eloquence, profound knowledge of the law, with the office of great pontiff: [*Pontifex maximus.*]

This poet lived in great friendship with D. Ju- ^{Val Max.} nius Brutus, who first carried the Roman arms in ^{l. i. c. 14.} Spain as far as the ocean. Accius composed verses in honour of him, with which that general adorned the porch of a temple, that he built with the spoils taken from the enemy.

|| Qui clamores tota cavea
nuper in hospitis mei & amici
M. Pacuvii nova fabula, cum
ignorante rege, uter esset O-
restes, Pylades Orestem se esse
diceret, ut pro illo necaretur;
Orestes autem, ita ut erat, O-
restem se esse perseveraret.
Stantes plaudebant in re ficta:
quid arbitremus in vera factu-
ros fuisse? *De Amicit.* n. 24.

* Ditissimus, nobilissimus,
eloquentissimus, juris-consul-
tissimus, Pontifex maximus.

PLAUTUS.

Aul. Gell. **PLAUTUS** (*M. Accius*) was of Salinæ, a
 l. 3. c. 3. city of Umbria in Italy (in Romagnia.) He ac-
 quired great reputation at Rome by his comedies,
 at the same time with the three last poets mentioned
 above.

Aulus Gellius tells us, after Varro, that Plautus
 applied himself to merchandise, and that having
 lost all he had in it, he was obliged for the means
 of life to serve a baker, in whose house he turned
 a corn-mill.

Of all the poets who appeared till him, only
 some fragments remain. Plautus has been more
 fortunate, nineteen of whose comedies have escaped
 the injuries of time, and come down almost entire
 to us. It is very probable, that his works pre-
 served themselves better than others, because as
 they were more agreeable to the public, the demand
 for them was greater and more permanent. They
 were not only acted in the time of Augustus; but
 Arnob l. 7. from a passage in Arnobius it appears, that they
 continued to be played in the reign of Dioclesian,
 three hundred years after the birth of **JESUS CHRIST**.

Various judgments have been passed on this poet.
 His elocution seems to be generally approved, with-
 out doubt in regard to the purity, propriety, ener-
 gy, abundance, and even elegance of his stile.
 Varro says, that if the muses were to speak La-
 tin, they would borrow the language of Plautus:
 Quintil. *licet Varro dicat musas—Plautino sermone locutu-*
 l. 10. c. 1. *ras fuisse, si Latinè loqui vellent.* Such a praise makes
 no exceptions, and leaves us nothing to desire.
 Aul. Gell. Aulus Gellius speaks of him no less to his advan-
 l. 7. c. 17. tage: *Plautus, homo linguæ atque elegantiae in ver-*
bis Latinæ princeps.

Horace,

Horace, who was undoubtedly a good judge in this point, does not seem so favourable to Plautus. The whole passage is as follows.

*At nostri proavi Plautinos & numeros, &
Laudavere sales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam stultè, mirati; si modo ego & vos
Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,
Legitimumque sonum digito callemus, & aure.*

Horat. in Art. Poet.

“ Our ancestors, said he to the Pisos, practised
“ and admired the verses and raillery of Plautus
“ with too much indulgence, not to call it stuper-
“ dity; if it be true, that either you or I know
“ how to distinguish delicate, from gross, raillery,
“ and have ears to judge aright of the numbers
“ and harmony of verse.” This criticism seems
the more against Plautus, as it argues, that Ho-
race was not alone in his opinion, and that the
court of Augustus had no greater taste than him,
either for the versification, or pleasantries of that
poet.

Horace's censure falls upon two articles; the
numbers and harmony of his verses, *numeros*; and
his raillery, *sales*. For my part I believe it in-
dispensibly right to adopt his judgment in a great
measure. But it is not impossible that Horace, of-
fended at the unjust preference given by his age to
the antient Latin poets against those of their own
times, may have been a little too excessive in his
criticisms upon some occasions, and on this in par-
ticular.

It is certain that Plautus was not exact in his
verses, which for that reason he calls *numeros innu-
meros*, numbers without number, in the epitaph he
made for himself. He did not confine himself to
observing the same measure, and has jumbled so
many different kinds of verse together, that the
most

most learned find it difficult to distinguish them. It is no less certain that he has flat, low, and often extravagant pleasantries ; but at the same time he has such as are fine and delicate. Cicero † for this reason, who was no bad judge of what the antients called *Urbanity*, proposes him as a model for raillery.

These faults of Plautus therefore do not hinder his being an excellent comic poet. They are very happily atoned for by many fine qualities, which may not only make him equal, but perhaps superior to Terence. This is Madam || Dacier's judgment, (then Mademoiselle Le Fevre) in her comparison of these two poets.

“ Terence, says he, has undoubtedly most art,
 “ but the other most wit : Terence makes more be
 “ said than done, Plautus more done than said ;
 “ which latter is the true character of comedy,
 “ that consists much more in action than discourse.
 “ This busy vivacity seems to include a farther
 “ considerable advantage on the side of Plautus :
 “ that is, his intrigues are always adapted to the
 “ character of his actor, whilst his incidents are
 “ well varied, and are never without something
 “ that surprizes agreeably ; whereas the stage
 “ seems sometimes to stand still in Terence, in
 “ whom the vivacity of the action, and the inci-
 “ dents and intrigues that form the plot, are ma-
 “ nifestly defective.” This is Cæsar's reproach
 of him in some verses, which I shall repeat when
 I come to speak of Terence.

To give the reader some idea of the style, latinity, and antiquated language of Plautus, I shall

† Duplex omnino est jocandi genus : unum illiberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscœnum ; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum ; quo genere non modò Plautus noster,

& Atticorum antiqua comœdia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri sunt referti. *Lib. 1. de Offic. n. 104.*

|| Preface to the translation of three comedies of Plautus.

transcribe in this place the beginning of the prologue of *Amphitryon*, one of his finest plays. It is spoken by Mercury.

*Ut vos in vobris vultis mercimoniis
Emundis vendundisque me lætum lucris
Afficere, atque adjuvare in rebus omnibus :
Et ut res rationesque vestrorum omnium
Bene expedire vultis peregreque & domi,
Bonoque atque amplo auctare perpetuo lucro
Quasque incæpistis res, quasque incæptabitis :
Et uti bonis vos vestrosque omnis nuntiis
Me afficere vultis ; ea afferam, eaque ut nuntiem,
Quæ maximè in rem vestram communem fient :
(Nam vos quidem id jam scitis concessum & datum
Mi esse ab diis aliis, nuntiis præsim & lucro :)
Hæc ut me vultis approbare, annitier
Lucrum ut perenne vobis semper suppetat :
Ita huic facietis fabulæ silentium,
Itaque æqui & justî hic eritis omnes arbitri.*

To understand these verses, we must remember, that Mercury was the god of merchants, and the messenger of the gods.

“ As you desire me to be propitious to you in
“ your bargains and sales ; as you desire to prosper in your affairs at home and abroad, and to
“ see a considerable profit continually augment
“ your present and future fortunes and undertakings ; as you desire that I should be the bearer
“ of good news to yourselves and your families,
“ and bring you such advices as are most for the
“ benefit of your commonwealth, (for you know
“ that by the consent of the other gods I preside
“ over news and gain ;) as you desire that I
“ should grant you all these things, and that your
“ gains may be as lasting as your occasions ; so
“ you will now afford this play your favourable
“ atten-

“ attention, and shew yourselves just and equitable in your judgment of it.”

We often meet with fine maxims in Plautus for the conduct of life, and regulation of manners; of which I shall give one example from the play just cited. It is a speech of Alcmena's to her husband Amphitryon, which in a few lines includes all the duties of a wife and virtuous wife.

*Non ego illam mihi dotem duco esse, quæ dos dicitur :
Sed pudicitiam, & pudorem, & sedatum cupidinem,
Deum metum, parentum amorem, & cognatum concor-
diam :*

*Tibi morigera, atque ut munifica sim bonis, prosim
probis.* Act 2. scene 2.

“ I do not esteem that a dowry, which is commonly called so; but honour, modesty, desires subjected to reason, the fear of the gods, the love of our parents, unity with our relations; obedience to you, munificence to the deserving, and to be useful to the just.”

But for some passages of this kind, how many has he that are contrary to decency and purity of manners! It is great pity that this reproach should extend almost generally to the best poets of the pagan world. What Quintilian says of certain dangerous poems, may be well applied on this occasion: That youth should, if possible, be kept entirely ignorant of them, or at least that they should be reserved for riper years, and a time of life less liable to corruption: *Amoveantur, si fieri potest; si minus, certe ad firmitus ætatis robur referrentur*——*cum mores in tuto fuerint.*

A. M.
3818.
Suet. in
vit. Ter-
rent.

TERENCE.

TERENCE was born at Carthage after the second Punic war, in the 56th year of Rome. He was

was a slave to Terentius Lucanus a Roman senator, who upon account of his wit, not only caused him to be educated with great care, but gave him his liberty whilst very young. It was this senator from whom our poet took the name of Terence ; such as were made free usually assuming the names of the masters that set them at liberty.

He was much beloved and esteemed by the principal persons of Rome, and lived in particular intimacy with Lælius and Scipio Africanus, who took and demolished Numantia. The latter was eleven years younger than him.

Six of Terence's comedies are come down to us. When he sold the first to the ediles, it was thought proper that he should read it beforehand to Cæcilius, a comic poet as well as himself, and in great esteem at Rome, when Terence first appeared there. Accordingly he went to his house, and found him at table. He was brought in, and as he was very ill dressed, a stool was given him near Cæcilius's bed, where he sat down and began to read. He had no sooner read some few verses, than Cæcilius invited him to supper, and placed him at table near himself. Judgments are not always to be formed of men by their outsides. A bad dress may often cover the most excellent talents.

The Eunuch, one of the six comedies of Terence, was received with such applause, that it was acted twice the same day, morning and evening, which perhaps had never happened to any play before ; and a much better price was given for it than had ever been paid for any comedy till then : for Terence had eight thousand sesterces, that is to say, about fifty pounds.

It was publicly enough reported, that Scipio and Lælius assisted him in the composition of his plays, which rumour he augmented himself by denying it but faintly, as he does in the prologue to *the Adelphi*, the last of his comedies. *As to what*
those

those envious persons say, that he is assisted in composing his works by some illustrious persons, he is so far from taking that as the offence they intended it, that he conceives it the highest praise which could be given him, as it is a proof, that he has the honour to please those, who please this audience and the whole Roman people; and who in peace, in war, and on all occasions, have rendered the commonwealth in general, and every one in particular, the highest and most important services, without being either more distant or more haughty upon that account.

We may believe however, that he only denied this assistance so negligently, to make his court to Lælius and Scipio, to whom he knew such a conduct would not be disagreeable. That report notwithstanding, says Suetonius in the life of Terence ascribed to him, augmented continually, and is come down to our times.

The poet Valgius, who was Horace's contemporary, says positively in speaking of Terence's comedies :

*Hæ quæ vocantur fabulæ, cujus sunt ?
Non has, qui jura populis * recensens dabat
Honore summo affectus fecit fabulas ?*

“ And pray, whose are these same comedies ?
“ Are they not his, who, after having acquired
“ the highest glory, gave laws, and governed the
“ people with power and authority ?”

Whether Terence was for putting an end to the reproach of publishing the works of others as his own, or had formed the design of going to learn the customs and manners of the Greeks perfectly, in order to represent them the better in his plays; after having composed the six comedies still ex-

* I don't know what this word means here, and believe it some error crept into the passage.

tant, and before he was thirty-five years old, he quitted Rome, where he was never seen more.

Some say that he died at sea in his return from Greece, from whence he brought with him an hundred and eight plays, which he had translated from Menander. Others assure us, that he died at the city of Stymphalus in Arcadia, in the consulship of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, of a disease occasioned by his grief for having lost the comedies he had translated, and those he had made himself.

Terence had only one daughter, who, after his death, was married to a Roman knight, and to whom he left an house and garden of twenty acres upon the Appian way.

Cicero, in a copy of verses intituled *Λειμὼν*, which signifies *a meadow*, says of Terence :

*Tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti,
Conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum
In medio populi sedatis vocibus effers,
Quidquid come loquens, atque omnia dulcia linquens.*

That is, *And you, Terence, who alone translate Menander with so much eloquence, and make him speak the language of the Romans so happily, in your judicious choice of whatever is sweetest and most delicate in it.* This testimony is for the honour of Terence ; but the verses that express it, not much for Cicero's.

I now proceed to those of Cæsar, which I mentioned before. That great man, who wrote with so much force and accuracy, and had himself composed a Greek tragedy, called *Œdipus*, says, addressing himself to Terence :

*Tu quoque, tu in summis, ô dimidiate Menander,
Poneris, & meritò, puri sermonis amator.
Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret vis
Comica,*

*Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore
Cum Gracis, neque in hac despectus parte jaceres :
Unum hoc maceror, & doleo tibi deesse, Terenti.*

“ Thou also, Menander’s half, art ranked in the
“ number of the greatest poets, and deservedly,
“ for the purity of thy stile. And I wish thy
“ sweet writings had in them the comic force and
“ spirit, that thy merit might have ranked thee
“ with the Greeks, and that thou wer’t not so
“ much below them in that point ! But this, Te-
“ rence, is unhappily what you want, and I much
“ regret.”

Terence’s great talent consists in the inimitable art of expressing the manners, and copying nature with so genuine and unstudied a simplicity, that every body believes himself capable of writing in the same manner ; and at the same time with such elegance and ingenuity, as no body has ever been able to come up to. Hence it is from this talent, that is to say, this wonderful art diffused throughout the comedies of Terence, which charms and transports without notice, or any glitter of ornaments, that Horace characterises this poet :

Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte

[*Dicitur.*]

Ep. 1. 1. 2.

Terence with an extreme purity of speech and a simple and natural stile, unites all the graces and delicacy, of which his language was susceptible ; and of all the Latin authors has come the nearest to Atticism, that is to say whatever is finest, most exquisite, and most perfect amongst the Greeks.
* Quintilian, in speaking of Terence, of whom he only says, that his writings were highly elegant, observes, that the Roman language rendered but very imperfectly that refinement of taste, that ini-

* Terentii scripta sunt in hoc genere elegantissima.

mitable grace, peculiar to the Greeks, and even to be found only in the Attic dialect. *Vix levem consequimur umbram, adeo ut mihi sermo ipse Romanus non recipere videatur illam solis concessam Atticis venerem, quando eam ne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ obtinuerint.* It is pity that the subject of his comedies makes them dangerous to youth ; upon which I have treated at large in my books upon studying polite learning.

LUCILIUS.

LUCILIUS, (*Caius Lucilius*) a Roman knight, A. M. was born at Sueffa, a town of Campania, in the 3856. 158th olympiad, and the 605th year of Rome, Euseb. in Chron. Vell. Pa- terc. l. 2. when Pacuvius the tragic poet flourished. He is said to have carried arms under the second Scipio Africanus at the siege of Numantia : but as he was then but fifteen years old, this circumstance is dubious.

He had a great share in that famous general's friendship, as well as in that of Lælius. He was their companion in the innocent sports and amusements, to which they did not disdain to descend, and in which those great men, at their hours of leisure, endeavoured to unbend themselves after their serious and important occupations : An admirable simplicity in persons of their rank and gravity !

Quin ubi se à vulgo & scena in secreta remorant
Virtus Scipiadæ, & mitis sapientia Læli,
Nugari cum illo, & discincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti. *Hor. Sat. i. l. 2.*

*With him, retir'd from crowds and state at home,
Wife gentle Lælius, and the pride of Rome,
Scipio, 'twixt play and trifle, liv'd in jest,
Till herbs, the frugal meal, and roots were drest.*

Lucilius passes for the inventor of satyr, because he gave it its last form, the same in which Horace, Persius and Juvenal have followed him. Ennius however had set him the example before, as Horace himself confesses by these verses, in which he compares Lucilius to Ennius.

— — — *Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
Comis & urbanus ; fuerit limatior idem,
Quam rudis & Græcis intacti carminis auctor.*

But the * satires of Ennius, tho' like those of Lucilius and Horace in other respects, differed from them in form as they consisted of several different kinds of verse.

The new form which Lucilius gave satire, as I have said before, made † Horace and Quintilian consider him as the inventor of that poem ; to which title he has a just claim.

There was another || kind of satire, which derived itself also from the antient. It is called the *Varronian* or *Menippean* satyr ; because Varro, the most learned of the Romans was its author, imitating in that work the Cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadara. This species of satyr was not only composed of several kinds of verses, but Varro introduced prose into it, in which there was besides a mixture of Greek and Latin. The work of Pe-

* Olim carmen, quod ex
variis poematibus constabat,
SATIRA dicebatur, quale
scripserunt Pacuvius & Ennius.

Diomed. Grammat.

Satira, cibi genus, ex variis rebus conditum. *Festus.*

† — — — Quid cum est Lucilius ausus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem.

Sat. 1. l. 2.

Satyræ quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus est Lucilius. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

Satyræ genus, quod non sola carminum varietate condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditissimus. *Quin. l. 10. c. 1.*

|| Alterum illud est & prius

tronius,

tronius, that of Seneca upon the death of Claudius, and of Boetius upon the consolation of philosophy, are all satires of the same kind with this of Varro. But to return to my subject.

Lucilius composed thirty books of satires, in which he censured many persons of bad lives by name and in a very offensive manner, as Horace informs us, regarding only virtue, and the lovers of virtue.

*Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributim,
Scilicet uni æquis virtuti, atque ejus amicis.*

Sat. i. l. 2.

His pen made the conscious Bad tremble, as if
he had pursued them sword in hand :

*Ense velut stricto, quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est
Criminibus, tacita sudant præcordia culpa.*

Juven. Sat. i.

Lucilius * used to say that he desired his readers might neither be very ignorant nor very learned. The one saw too little, and the other too much. The one did not know what was good, and consequently no justice was to be expected from them; and what was imperfect could not be concealed from the penetration of the others.

It is not probable that he died at forty-six years of age, as some assure us. Horace calls him old man, where he says Lucilius confided all his secrets, and whatever had happened to him in life, to his books, as to faithful friends.

* Caius Lucilius, homo doctus & perurbanus, dicere solebat, ea quæ scriberet neque ab indoctissimis, neque ab doctif-

fimis legi velle: quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortasse quam de se ipse. *De Orat. l. 2. n. 25.*

*Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
 Credebat libris : neque, si malè gesserat usquam,
 Decurrens aliò, neque si bene. Quo fit ut omnis
 Voivva pateat veluti descripta tabella
 Vita senis.* Sat. 1. 1. 2.

Pompey was grandson, or rather grand-nephew, to Lucilius, by the mother's side.

Of all his works, only some fragments of his satires are come down to us.

The reputation of this poet was very great during his life, and subsisted long after his death to such an height, that in * Quintilian's time, he continued to have admirers so zealous for it, as to prefer him not only to all who had wrote in the same way, but to all the poets of antiquity in general.

Sat. 4. 1. 1.

Horace judged very differently of him. He represents him to us indeed as a poet of a fine taste, and delicate in his raillery, *facetis, emunctæ naris* : but hard and stiff in his compositions ; not being able to take the pains necessary in writing, that is to say, in writing well ; for to write much, was his great fault. He was highly satisfied with himself, and believed he had done wonders, when he had dictated two hundred verses in less time than one could throw them together on paper. In a word, Horace compares him to a river that with a great deal of mud carries however a precious sand along with it in its current.

Sat. 10. 1. 1.

The judgment Horace passed upon Lucilius, occasioned great clamour at Rome. The admirers of the latter, enraged at his having presumed to treat their hero in that manner, gave out, that Horace had only dispraised Lucilius out of envy, and with

* Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non ejusdem modo

operis auctoribus, sed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

the view of setting himself above him. We ought not to be angry with them on account of those complaints, how unjust soever they might be : for they acquired us an excellent satyr, wherein Horace, in rendering Lucilius all the justice he deserved, sustains and confirms the judgment he had passed on him by the most solid proofs.

For Quintilian's honour, I am sorry that a critic of his profound judgment and just taste, should differ in opinion with Horace in this point. He cannot forgive him for having compared the writings of Lucilius to muddy waters, from whence however something valuable might be extracted, * *For my part, says he, I find surprizing erudition and a noble liberty in him, which gave his works poignancy with abundance of salt.* Horace allows him the last qualities, which did not prevent Lucilius from having abundance of vicious passages in him, that ought either to have been amended, or retrenched. As to *erudition*, Quintilian differs directly in that respect with Cicero's opinion. For says the latter, speaking of Lucilius : † *His works are light and frothy, and with exceeding pleasantry have no great erudition.* To conclude, we can form at present no proper judgment of a poet, of whose works almost nothing is come down to us.

S E C T. II.

Second age of Latin poetry.

THE interval of which I am now to speak, continued from the time of Julius Cæsar to the middle of Tiberius's reign, and included about an hundred years. It was always considered as the

* Nam & eruditio in eo mira, & libertas, atque inde acerbitas, & abunde salis. *Lib.* 10. c. 1.

† Et sunt scripta illius [Lucilli] leviora, ut urbanitas summa appareat, doctrina mediocris. *Cic. de Fin. l. 1. n. 7.*

golden age of polite learning, during which a crowd of fine geniusses of every kind, poets, historians and orators, carried Rome's glory to its greatest height. Literature had before made great efforts, and one may also say great progress : but it had not yet attained that degree of maturity, which constitutes perfection in arts. Writings did not want good sense, judgment, solidity, and force ; but they had little art, less ornament, and no delicacy. A small number of persons of great talents, rising up together in a space of time of no great duration, on a sudden and as if inspired, by adding to the excellent qualities of their predecessors others which they had wanted, established good taste of every kind irrevocably and for evermore ; so that as soon as the world began to lose sight of those perfect models, every thing immediately began to decline and degenerate.

The happy beginnings which we have related, prepared the way for the wonders that succeeded them ; and as Rome derived her first notions of polite learning from Greece, so it was by her industrious perseverance in studying the Greek writers, that the Romans attained perfection. The first poets, and especially the Tragic and Comic, contented themselves with translating the works of the Greeks,

Tentavit quoque, rem si digné vertere posset,
Et placuit sibi. *Horat. Epist. 1. l. 2.*
Essay'd to make it speak our tongue with grace
And pleas'd themselves.

They afterwards took a farther step. They ventured to soar with their own wings, and composed originals entirely Roman.

Nil intentatum nostri liquere poetæ,
Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca
Ausi

Ausi deferere, & celebrare domestica facta ;
Vel qui Prætextas, vel qui docuere Togatas.

Id. de Art. Poet.

*Our authors have attempted every way,
And well deserve our praise, whose daring muse
Disdain'd to be beholden to the Greeks,
And found fit subjects for her verse at home.*

Roscommon.

Though the dramatic poets did not entirely succeed in these attempts, Horace did in lyric poetry.

Rome, animated with a noble emulation, which arose from reading the Greek authors, and the esteem she had conceived for them, proposed to herself to equal, and even if possible to surpass them : a very laudable and useful dispute between nations, and equally for their honour !

Add to this first motive the admirable character of the persons at that time in supreme authority at Rome ; the esteem for men of letters ; the marks of distinction with which they were honoured ; the solid rewards conferred on them ; and the general respect paid to persons of singular merit of every kind ; a respect which almost rose so high as to equal them with the greatest and most powerful of the commonwealth. It has been the saying of all times, and cannot be too often repeated : * emulation nourishes wit. The view of merit in others, united with a just admiration for their excellent works, and a secret regret from the sense of our own inferiority, inspire an ardor for glory, to which nothing is impossible. And it is from these generous efforts, excited and sustained by the hopes of success, that arts attain their final perfection.

* Alit æmulatio ingenia, & nunc invidia, nunc admiratio, incitationem accendit ; natu-

raque, quod summo studio petitum est, ascendit in summum. *Vell. Paterc. l. 1. c. 7.*

This is what happened, especially in the time of Augustus, in respect to poetry, history, and eloquence. But poetry is our subject in this place. I shall relate in few words the history of the poets, who distinguished themselves most during this glorious age of Rome. Terence, of whom I have spoke above, may in my opinion be included in this class; who though he preceded them in time, does not give place to them in merit. He is the first of the Latin poets, who seems in some measure to have set up the standard of perfection, and to have inspired others by his example with the desire and hope of attaining it.

AFRANIUS: (*L. Afranius Quintianus.*)

AFRANIUS was much esteemed by the ancients. * He excelled in the comedies called *Togatæ* and † *Atellanæ*. Horace seems to compare him with Menander.

Dicitur Afranî toga convenisse Menandro.

In Art. Poet.

He was cotemporary with Terence, but much younger than him, and did not begin to grow in reputation till after his death. He ranked him above all other poets, and could not bear that any should be compared with him, of those evidently who had wrote in the same way:

Terentio non similem dices quempiam. Fragm. Afran.

Quintil.
ibid.

He was highly considered for his poetical

* *Togatis excellit Afranius.*
Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

† These comedies were called *Atellanæ*, from *Atella* a city of *Campania*, from whence they

were brought to Rome; and *Togatæ*, because they represented only Roman actions and persons, implied by *Toga*, their peculiar habit.

works, and no less condemned for the depravity of his manners.

LUCRETIUS.

LUCRETIUS, (*Titus Lucretius Carus*) was born A. M. according to the chronicle of Eusebius, the second 3908. year of the 171st olympiad, twelve years after Cicero, in the consulship of L. Licinius Crassus and Q. Mutius Scævola, in the 658th year of Rome. A philter, or love potion, had been given him that made him mad. He had some lucid intervals from his phrenzy, during which he composed his six books *De rerum natura*, wherein he explains at large the doctrine of Epicurus, of which we shall speak in its place. He inscribed his poem to C. Memmius, who had the same master, and without doubt the same sentiments, as himself.

The same chronicle of Eusebius informs us, that this work was corrected by Cicero after its author's death. Cicero speaks of Lucretius only once, though he had often occasion to mention him, and the passage where he does so, besides being very obscure, is variously read. *Lucretii poemata, ut* Cic. ad
scribis, lita sunt (others read *non ita sunt*) *multis* Quint. Fr.
luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis. Ep. 11. l. 2.

No man ever denied providence more boldly, or treated the divinity with more insolence and presumption than this poet. He introduces his subject with this preface, in praise of Epicurus.

“ Whilst mankind, says he, groaned in shameful
“ subjection to the oppressive yolk of imperious
“ religion, which declared itself descended from
“ heaven, and made the whole earth tremble at
“ the frowns and horrors of its aspect; a mortal
“ native of Greece first boldly ventured to expose
“ its falshood to the eyes of men, and to declare
“ against it, without the fame of the gods, the
“ fear of thunders, or the rumbling noise of
“ threatening skies, being able to awe and divert
“ him.

“ him. All those objects, on the contrary, only
 “ serve to exalt his courage, and confirm him in
 “ the design of being the first to force the barriers
 “ of nature, and to penetrate into her most myster-
 “ rious secrets.

*Humana ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret
 In terris oppressa gravi sub religione ;
 Quæ caput à cæli regionibus ostendebat,
 Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans :
 Primum Graius homo mortales tollere contrà
 Est oculos ausus, primusque obsistere contrà.
 Quem nec fama deûm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti
 Murmure compressit cælum : sed eo magis acrem
 Inrulat virtutem animi, confringere ut arcta
 Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.*

Lucretius, throughout his whole work, lays down as a principle, that the gods neither regard, nor interfere in any thing ; and takes it upon him to explain the effects of nature, and the formation and conservation of the world, by the sole motion of atoms, and to refute those, who acknowledge the power and wisdom of a divinity as the first cause of all things. The reader will be better acquainted with his opinions, when I come to explain those of his master Epicurus.

This poet has abundance of genius, force and sublimity ; but his verses are so very remote from the sweetness and harmony of Virgil's, that one would believe he had lived ages before him.

CATULLUS.

A. M.
3916.

CATULLUS, (*Caius* or *Quintus Valerius Catullus*) was born at Verona in the 666th year of Rome. The delicacy of his verses acquired him the friendship and esteem of the men of learning and wit, of whom there were then great numbers at Rome.

He

He wrote two fatirical epigrams against Cæsar, in one of which * he speaks of him with an air of haughtiness and contempt, that Quintilian justly treats as extravagance.

Nil nimium, Cæsar, studeo tibi velle placere ;

Nec scire utrum sis ater an albus homo.

To please you, Cæsar, is not much my care ;

Nor to know whether you are black or fair.

These verses, as disrespectful as they were, only served the person offended, as an occasion of distinguishing his moderation. Cæsar did not dissemble his displeasure, but contented himself with obliging the poet to ask his pardon, and invited him to supper the same evening.

An elegant simplicity, and natural graces, form the character of Catullus. Happy, if he had not often disgraced that amiable delicacy by his Cynic immodesty.

LABERIUS : (*Decimus.*)

LABERIUS, a Roman knight, succeeded admirably in composing mimes or farces. At Rome, a man of birth did not disgrace himself by writing poetry for the stage ; but could not act them without degrading himself. Notwithstanding this had long been an established opinion, Julius Cæsar pressed Laberius very earnestly to act one of his pieces upon the stage, and to induce him to comply, gave him a considerable sum of money. The poet refused it a great while, but was at last obliged to yield. The † desire of a prince upon such an occasion, is a command. In the prologue

* Negat se magni facere aliquis poetarum, *utrum Cæsar ater an albus homo sit* : insania. *Quintil. l. 11. c. 1.*

† Potestas, non solum si in-

vitet, sed &, si supplicet, cogit. *Macrob.*

Quod est potentissimum imperandi genus, rogabat qui jubere poterat. *Auson.*

to this farce, Laberius vents his grief most respectfully with regard to Cæsar, but at the same time in very pathetic terms. It is one of the finest fragments of antiquity, and I have inserted it at length, with the translation in the first volume of the second edition of my treatise upon study. Macrobius has preserved it with some other fragments of the same piece of poetry.

He informs us also that this Roman knight, out of his great regret to see his age dishonoured in that manner, and to avenge himself by the only means in his power, maliciously inserted in the farce we speak of, several home strokes against Cæsar. A servant beaten by his master cried out : *Help, Romans, we lose our liberty.*

Porro, Quirites ! Libertatem perdimus.

And a little after he added : *He must necessarily fear many, whom many fear.*

Neceſſe eſt multos timeat, quem multi timent.

The whole people knew Cæsar in those strokes, and cast their eyes upon him. When the performance was over, Cæsar, as if to reinstate him in the dignity of a Roman knight, from which he had departed thro' complaisance for him, rewarded him with a ring, which might be considered as a new patent of nobility. Laberius went afterwards to take his place amongst the knights ; but they pressed together in such a manner, that there was no room for him.

S Y R U S.

P. SYRUS was a Syrian by nation, whence he took his surname of Syrus. From a slave at Rome, whither he was brought in his infancy, he became

became a freedman very soon and was instructed with great distinction. He excelled in mimic poetry, in which he was Laberius's rival, and even surpassed him in the judgment of Cæsar. But the preference he gave him was thought to be intended only to mortify Laberius, for his having thrown some malicious strokes against him into his farce.

We have a work of Syrus's, which consists of sentences in Iambic verse, disposed alphabetically. Seneca the Elder repeats the opinion of Cassius Severus, who preferred these sentences before whatever is best in the tragic and comic poets. This is saying a great deal. Seneca the Younger considered them also as an excellent model.

Not long since a translation of these sentences, and a poem of Cornelius Severus, intitled * *Ætna*, which had never appeared before in French, have been published. We are much obliged to authors, who endeavour to enrich our language with ancient works, unknown and therefore new to it. † This translator observes, that La Bruyere has scattered almost all the sentences of P. Syrus throughout his characters, of which he gives us several examples like the following.

*Fortuna usu dat multa, mancipio nihil.
Levis est fortuna : cito reposcit, quod dedit.*

“ Fortune gives nothing, and only lends for a
“ time. To morrow the fickle goddess resumes

* This poem is wrote in hexameters, and is the second in the *Opuscula* ascribed to Virgil, in the folio edition of Cresspinus, Lugduni 1539, which perhaps Mr. Rollin never saw. Domitius Calderinus the commentator tells us in the argument : Hoc Virgilianum esse opus plerique ex authoribus testantur :

& Seneca in epist. adeo ut Nationem non ob aliam causam opus de *Ætna* dimisisse affirmet, nisi propter Virgilium, quem jam scripsisse comperit habebat. Cornelius Severus etiam ob eandem causam deterritus traditur.

† M. Accarias of Serionne.

“ from her favourites, what now she seems to
 “ give them for ever.

Mortem timere crudelius est, quam mori.

“ Death comes but once, though it puts us in
 “ mind of it at every moment of our lives. It
 “ is much more grievous to apprehend, than to
 “ suffer it.

Est vita misero longa, felici brevis.

“ Life is short to those who possess it in pleasures
 “ and enjoyments: it seems long only to such as
 “ languish in affliction.”

POLLIO.

POLLIO (C. Asinius Pollio) a person of consular dignity and a celebrated orator, had also composed tragedies in Latin which were much esteemed in his time. Horace speaks of him more than once.

Paulum severæ Musa Tragædiæ
Desit theatris. ————— Ode 1. 1. 2.
 ————— *Pollio regum*
Facta canit pede ter percusso. Sat. 10. 1. 2.

Virgil also mentions him with praise,

Pollio & ipse facit nova carmina. Eclog. 3.

† He was the first who opened a library at Rome for the use of the public.

† Asinii Pollionis hoc Romæ inventum, qui primus, *hominum rem publicam fecit.*
 Bibliothecam dicando, ingenia *Plin. l. 35. c. 1.*

Augustus

Augustus pressing him to espouse his party against Anthony, he represented to him that the services he had done and received from that competitor would not admit his entering into engagements against him: that therefore he was determined to continue neuter, well assured that he should become the victor's prey.

The same prince, having on another occasion wrote Fescennine verses against him; † *I shall take great care, said he, not to answer. For it is not easy to scribble against a man who can proscribe.*

VIRGIL.

VIRGIL (*Publius Virgilius Maro*) was born A. M. in a village called Andes near Mantua, of very ^{3934.} obscure parents, in the consulship of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and M. Licinius Crassus. ^{Ant. J. C. 684.}

He passed the first years of his life at Cremona, and at seventeen put on the *toga virilis*, (the habit of manhood) on the same day that the poet Lucretius died. ^{Vit. Virg. incert. Auct.}

After having made some stay at Milan he removed to Naples, where he studied the Greek and Roman literature with extreme application, and afterwards the mathematics and physic.

Several little poems are ascribed to Virgil's youth, which seem unworthy of him.

Having been driven out of his house and a small ^{A. M. 3963.} piece of land, which was his whole estate, by the distribution of the territory of Mantua and Cremona amongst the veteran soldiers of Augustus, ^{Ant. J. C. 713.} he came for the first time to Rome, and by the favour of Pollio and Mæcenas, both patrons of learning and learned men, recovered his estate, and was again put into possession of it.

† At ego taceo. Non est enim facile in eum scribere, qui potest proscribere.

This occasioned his first eclogue, and made him known to Augustus, of whom he had inserted a fine praise in that poem, a precious monument of his gratitude. Thus his distress became in the consequence the source of his good fortune. He finished his *Bucolics* in three years: a work of extreme delicacy, and a specimen of what was to be expected from a hand, that knew so well how to unite the graces of nature with correctness and purity of style. Horace gives us the character of these pastorals in two words:

—————Molle atque facetum
 Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ.
*The soft and easy grace of rural strains,
 The muses, that delight in woods and plains,
 Have giv'n to Virgil.*

* Every body knows that in good latinity the word *facetus* is not only applicable to raillery and pleasantry, but to every discourse and work of wit, in which fine genius, delicacy and elegance, are the prevailing characters.

Mæcenæ, who had a great taste for poetry, and had discerned all Virgil's merit in the proof he had lately given of it, would not suffer him to rest till he had engaged him to undertake a new work more considerable than the former. It is making a noble use of one's influence, and rendering great service to the public, to animate persons of learning in this manner, who often, for want of such inducements, remain unactive, and leave the greatest talents unemployed and useless. It was therefore by the advice of Mæcenæ, that Virgil began the *Georgics*, to which he applied himself seven

* *Facetum* non tantum circa
 ridicula opinor consistere —
 Decoris hanc magis, & excul-
 tæ cujusdam elegantie appella-
 tionem puto. *Quintil.* l. 6.
 c. 3.

years. To enable himself to devote his whole attention to it, and to avoid every thing that might divert his thoughts, he retired to Naples. He tells us this circumstance himself at the end of the fourth book of the Georgics, and also gives us the date of the time, when he finished them, which was in the 724th year of Rome, when Augustus, on his return from Egypt, having advanced towards the Euphrates, by the terror of his arms, and the fame of the victories he had lately obtained, put the country into a consternation, and obliged Tiridates and Phraates, who disputed the Parthian empire with each other, to conclude a kind of accommodation.

A. M.
3967.
An. U. C.
717.

Dio. Cass.
l. 51.

*Hæc super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam,
Et super arboribus : Cæsar dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympi.
Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis otii.*

The leisure he enjoyed at that time at Naples was far from ignoble and obscure, as he thought fit to call it in this place. His Georgics, which were the fruits of it, in respect to the diction, is the most finished of all the works he has left us, and even of all the poems that were ever composed in Latin. This proceeded from his having sufficient time to polish, and put the last hand to it.

He retouched his works with an attention and accuracy not easily to be conceived. When the first fire of composing, in which every thing pleases, was over, he revised his productions, not with the complaisance of an author and parent, but the inexorable severity of a rigid critic, and almost an enemy. In the morning he composed a considerable number of verses ; and returning to the exami-

nation of them, employed the rest of the day in correcting, and reducing them to a very small number.

He used to compare himself to the Bear, who from gross and unformed lumps, as her young ones are at their birth, gives them shape and proportion, by the pains she takes in licking them. Thus excellent works are formed. It was by this diligence in correcting, Virgil became the standard of good poetry amongst the Latins, and set the example of accurate, sweet, and harmonious versification. If we compare his verses not only with those of Cicero, but of Lucretius and Catullus, the latter will appear rough, unpolished, harsh, antique, and, as I have said before, we shall be tempted to believe them the verses of some ages before Virgil.

We are told that Augustus, at his return from his military expeditions, believed he could not unbend himself better after his fatigues, than by hearing this admirable poem read, to which he devoted four days successively. Virgil read him one book each day. He had a wonderful talent in making the beauty of his verses sensible by a sweet, articulate, and harmonious pronunciation. As soon as he seemed a little out of breath, Mæcenas took his place, and went on. Days pass'd in this manner are highly agreeable to a prince of fine taste and wit: a pleasure infinitely superior to those insipid and frivolous diversions, which almost engross the generality of men. But at the same time how admirable is the goodness of this Lord of the world, who thus familiarizes himself with a man of letters, who treats him almost as his equal, who carefully spares him his voice and his spirits, and considers his health as a public good!

I do not know however whether it was sparing Virgil, to treat him with such affecting marks of friendship

friendship and esteem. For an author, after such favours, spares himself no longer, and sooner or later consumes himself by his tenacious attachment to his studies.

Virgil immediately after began his *Æneid*, to which he applied himself twelve years. Augustus when employed in the war against the Cantabri, pressed him earnestly, by several letters which he wrote him, to send him some part of the *Æneid* : but Virgil always excused himself. He * represented to him, that if he had thought his *Æneas* worthy of that honour, he should willingly have sent him to Cæsar ; but that he had found the work far more difficult than he imagined it, and that he began to fear, that it was rashness and a kind of madness in him to undertake it.

On the return of that prince, Virgil could no longer refuse to satisfy his just impatience, and accordingly read him the second, fourth, and sixth books of the *Æneid*, in the presence of his sister Octavia. She had some time before lost her son M. Claudius Marcellus, a prince of infinite merit, whom Augustus intended for his successor in the empire. Virgil had given the praise of young Marcellus a place in the sixth book of the *Æneid* with so much address, that it is impossible to read it without being exceedingly moved. When he came to this passage, the rehearsal of the verses, which are twenty-six in number, made the emperor and Octavia weep immoderately. It is even said, that Octavia swooned away at these words ; *Tu Marcellus eris*. She ordered (*dena sestertia*) ten great sesterces to be paid the poet for each of those verses, which amounted to about seventeen hundred pounds sterling.

* De *Ænea* quidem meo, si mehercule jam dignum auribus haberem tuis, libenter mitterem. Sed tanta inchoata res

est, ut penè vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar. *Macrob.* l. i. c. ult.

Virgil after having finished the *Æneid* designed to retire for three years in order to revise and polish it. He set out with this view for Greece. At Athens he met Augustus on his return from the East, and thought proper to change his purpose and to attend that prince to Rome. He was taken sick upon the way, and staid behind at Brundisium. Finding his illness increase, he earnestly desired his manuscripts to be brought him, in order to throw the *Æneid* into the fire. Because nobody had complaisance enough to comply with that request, he ordered that poem by his will to be burnt as an imperfect work. Tucca and Varius, who were with him, represented, that Augustus would never suffer it, and upon that remonstrance Virgil left his writings to them, upon condition that they would add nothing to them, and leave the hemisticks as they found them.

A. M.
3980.

Virgil died at Brundisium, in the 735th year of Rome, aged fifty-two. His bones were carried to Naples, and buried two miles from that city, with this inscription on his tomb, which he made himself, and which in two lines includes the place of his birth, death and burial, with the number of his works.

*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope, cecini pascua, rura, duces.*

The epic poem must be a work of extreme difficulty, as during so many ages, Greece and Rome scarce produced two geniusses sufficiently sublime to sustain it in all its spirit and dignity. And since them, has the world, in any language whatsoever, * poems of this kind, that can justly be compared with those of Homer and Virgil?

* It is certain that our MILTON was not inferior to either of them in many of the characters of Epic poetry; and that he was in some superior to them both;

as in the grandeur of his matter, his learning, characters, and the machinery of his work. See Addison on Milton.

I have

I have observed, in speaking of the former, in what manner Virgil had formed the design and plan of the *Æneid* upon the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, which gives the original a great advantage over the copy. Past ages however have not yet decided, to which of the two the preference ought to be given. Till judgment can be passed in this point, which in all probability will never happen, we may adhere to Quintilian's opinion, cited before in the article of Homer. * There is, says he, more genius and force of nature in Homer; and more art and labour, because more of both was necessary, in Virgil. The first is indisputably superior in the grand and the sublime: the other perhaps makes us amends for what he wants in those points, by the harmony of parts and the exact equality he supports throughout his work. To this we may add, that Virgil did not live to put the last hand to his poem, which without doubt would have made it much more perfect than it is, though, as we have it, it is of inestimable value.

We may most certainly ascribe to Caligula's madness the contempt and hatred he expressed for Virgil, whose writings and portraits he industriously endeavoured to have banished out of all libraries. He had the extravagance to say, that poet had neither wit nor learning: *nullius ingeni, minimæque doctrinæ*. The emperor Alexander Severus judged very differently of him. He called him the Plato of the poets, and placed his picture, with that of Cicero, in the chapel, where he had placed Achilles, and other great men. It is highly for the honour of learning to see an emperor give poets, orators, and conquerors the same rank.

Sueton. in
Calig.
c. 34.

Lamprid.
Alex.
Sever.

* Et hercle, ut illi naturæ coelesti atque immortalis cesserimus, ita curæ & diligentiae vel ideo in hoc plus est, quod ei fuit magis laborandum: & quantum eminentioribus vincimur, fortasse æqualitate penfamus. *Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

In the life of Horace, I shall relate a circumstance in that of Virgil, which in my judgment does him as much or even more honour, than his genius for poetry.

H O R A C E.

A. M. 3940. H O R A C E (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) was of Venusium, and, as he says himself, the son of a freedman. He was born in the 688th year of Rome.

Hor. Sat. 6. l. 1. His father, though only a freedman, and of a very moderate fortune, took particular care of his education. Persons of fortune, and rich officers of the army, contented themselves with sending their children to a master, who taught them to read, write and cast accompts. But Horace's father, who had discovered in his son a fund of genius capable of the greatest things, had the courage to carry him to Rome, in order to give him such an education, as knights and senators gave their children. To see the manner in which young Horace was dressed, and the slaves that followed him, one might have taken him, says he of himself, for the rich heir of a long train of opulent ancestors; whilst his father however had only a small piece of land for his whole estate. He was perhaps excessive in this point: but who would venture to condemn him? He was not afraid of ruining either himself or his son by employing his whole income for his instruction; judging a good education the best patrimony he could leave him. He did more; he took upon himself the care of him, served him instead of a governor, and went with him to all his masters.

*Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum Doctores aderat.*

We are charmed with the respect and warm gratitude, which Horace, during his whole life, expresses for such a father. "By his care, says he, he preserved me free, not only from all acts of impurity, which is the highest praise of virtue, but from all reproach or suspicion of that kind." Let young persons consider well these words, and remember that it is an heathen, that thinks and speaks in this manner.

*Quid multa ? Pudicum
Qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
Non solum factò, verùm opprobrio quoque turpi.*

Horace's father, though a man of no letters or erudition, was of no less use to his son, than the most able masters he could hear. He took pains himself to form him, instructed him familiarly, and made it his business to inspire him with an abhorrence for vice, by pointing it out to him under sensible examples. If he would have him avoid some criminal action: Could you doubt, said he to him, whether the action I would have you shun, be contrary to virtue and your true interest, when such an one, who had committed it, is universally condemned and despised for it? That such an one, by his debauched life, has ruined his health and fortune: (and it was here the strokes of satyr came in.) On the contrary, if he desired to recommend some good action to his imitation, he cited somebody who had done it with success; and always chose his examples out of the principal persons of the senate, and those of greatest worth.

This manner of instructing youth has its great utility, provided it does not degenerate into detraction and satyr *. For examples make much more impression upon the mind, than any dis-

* Longum iter est per præcepta, breve & efficax per exempla.
Senec. Epist. 6. l. 1.

courses, or precepts of morality. It is in the same manner Demea instructs his son in Terence's *Andelphi*.

*Nihil prætermitto, consuefacio. Denique
Inspicere tanquam in speculum in vitas omnium
Jubeo, atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi.
Hoc facito & hoc fugito, &c. Act. 3. Sc. 3.*

“ I omit nothing, and gradually accustom him
“ to virtue. In fine, I oblige him to look into
“ the lives of others, as into a glass, and to learn
“ from their example to imitate the good, and fly
“ the bad.

If we may believe Horace, it is to these paternal instructions, received with attention and docility, that he was indebted for being exempt from great failings.

*Ex hoc ego sanus ab illis
Perniciem quæcumque ferunt, mediocribus, & quæis
Ignoscas, vitiis teneor.*

But it is also to the same lessons he ascribes, whether out of pleasantry or otherwise, the taste for satyr which he retained during his whole life.

Satyr. 6.
l. 1.

He is never weary of expressing himself upon his good fortune in having such a father, and speaks of him with a gratitude that we cannot sufficiently esteem. “ As long as I am capable of
“ thinking with reason, I shall never be ashamed
“ of so good a father. I shall never imitate the
“ generality, who to excuse the meanness of their
“ extraction, take care to observe, that if they do
“ not descend from illustrious ancestors, it is no
“ fault of theirs. I think and speak quite differently. For, did nature permit us to begin our
“ lives again after a certain number of years, and
“ would give us the liberty of choosing such parents as we thought fit, others might choose
“ theirs by their vanity; but for my part, con-
“ tented

“tented with my own, I would not seek for noble ones distinguished by rods and axes, and curule chairs.”

*Nil me pœniteat sanum patris hujus ; eoque
Non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,
Quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,
Sic me defendam. Longè mea discrepat istis
Et vox & ratio. Nam, si natura juberet
A certis annis ævum remeare peractum,
Atque alios legere ; ad fastum quoscunque parentes
Optaret sibi quisque : meis contentus, honestos
Fascibus & sellis nollem mihi sumere.——*

It must be confessed that there is great meanness of spirit in blushing at meanness of birth. The reader no doubt has observed, that most of the illustrious writers hitherto mentioned were of obscure condition, and that many of them were even slaves. Did it ever enter into the thoughts of any man of sense to esteem them the less upon that account? Nobility, riches, office, can they be brought into competition with the talents of the mind, and are they always proofs of merit?

When Horace had attained to about nineteen A. M. years of age, his father sent him to study at Athens, 3359. for he would not let him go, and kept him always under his eye, till he was of years to take care of himself, and to avoid the corruption of manners which then prevailed. He had studied polite learning at Rome, and had formed his taste principally by reading Homer. He proceeded to more exalted science in Greece, and applied himself to the study of philosophy. That study seems to have pleased him exceedingly, and he extremely regretted leaving so agreeable a residence sooner than he desired. Brutus passing by the way of Athens into Macedonia, carried several young persons from thence along with him, of which num-

ber was Horace. He made him a tribune of the soldiers. Horace had then been four or five years at Athens.

*Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
Iratus Gratiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ,
Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum.
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,
Civiliſque rudem belli tulit æſtus in arma,
Cæſaris Auguſti non reſponſura lacertis.*

Epist. 2. 1. 2.

A year after the battle of Philippi was fought, in which our poet, who was not born for arms, accordingly gave no proofs of his bravery, having taken to flight, and abandoned his buckler, as he confesses himself :

*Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Senſi, reliſta non bene parmula.* Od. 7. 1. 2.

Horace, on his return, was not long before he became known to Mæcenas. It was the excellent Virgil, for so he calls him, *optimus Virgilius*, who first spoke of this dawning merit to his patron. Varius afterwards confirmed what he had said, and seconded him. Horace was introduced. When he appeared before Mæcenas, respect for a person of his grandeur, and his natural timidity, confounded him so much, that he spoke very little, and with great hesitation. Mæcenas answered him in few words, according to the custom of the great, after which Horace withdrew. Nine months passed without Horace's hearing any farther, or taking any pains to do so on his side. It might have been thought, that Mæcenas, little pleased with his first visit, which did not seem to argue a man of great parts,

parts, had no farther thoughts of Horace. At the expiration of that term, he sent for him, and admitted him into the number of his friends; (these are Horace's own words,) and from thenceforth they lived in the greatest intimacy.

Nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit. Optimus olim Virgilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem.

Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus,

(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari)

Non ego me, &c.

Sed quod eram, narro. Respondes, ut tuus est mos,

Pauca. Abeo: & revocas nono post mense, jubesque

Esse in amicorum numero. Satyr. 6. l. 1.

Custom with us [*in France*] does not allow a man of learning, scarce known as such, to stile himself the friend of so great a lord as Mæcenas. The antients had more simplicity, but at the same time a more noble freedom of manners and greatness of soul. The Roman language, which was born in the bosom of liberty, had nothing of mean and servile in it, and did not admit any of those frivolous compliments with which ours is over-run. *Jubes esse in amicorum numero.*

But what I admire here, is the generous behaviour of Virgil. He knew the young poet's merit, and perceived in him a genius formed for success in courts; and the event demonstrated he was not mistaken. He might have apprehended setting himself up in his person a dangerous rival, who from sharing at first in the favour of their common patron, might afterwards supplant him entirely. Virgil had none of these thoughts, which suit only a mean and sordid spirit, and which he would with reason have judged injurious to his friend, and still more so to Mæcenas. For the house of that favourite was not like those of most great lords and ministers, where every body re-
gards

gards solely their own interest ; where the merit of others gives umbrage, and every thing is carried on by cabal and secret collusion ; where fidelity and honour are little known, and where the blackest designs are often covered under the specious outsides of great friendship and affection. “ It is “ not in this manner,” says Horace to one, who promised, if he would procure him ever so little access to the person of Mæcenas, to put him soon into a condition of supplanting all others in his favour, “ it is not thus we live at Mæcenas’s. There “ never was an house of greater integrity, nor “ more remote from all intrigue and cabal than “ his. A richer, or more learned person there, “ gives me no manner of pain or umbrage. Every “ one there has his due place, and is contented “ with it.”

— — — *Non isto vivimus illic
Quo tu rere modo. Domus hac nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mihi officit unquam
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior. Est locus uni
Cuique suus.* Satyr. 9. l. 1.

Mæcenas, from the first, did Horace good offices with the prince, against whom he had born arms on the side of Brutus. He obtained his pardon, with the restitution of his estate. From thenceforth Horace began to be very familiar with Mæcenas, and to share in his confidence and pleasures. He accompanied him in his journey to Brundisium, as appears from the fifth satyr of the first book.

Horace’s credit and reputation increased every day by the poems he published, as well upon the victories of Augustus, as other events and various subjects, whether odes, satires, or epistles.

The poet Quintilius Varus, Virgil's relation, being dead, Horace endeavours to console his friend upon that occasion by the xxivth ode of book I.

*Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sapor
Urget? cui pudor, & justitiæ soror
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?
Multis ille quidem flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili.
Tu frustra pius, bea, non ita creditum
Poscis Quintilium deos.*

When Virgil himself set out for Greece with design to employ the leisure he went thither to find in revising, and putting the last hand to the *Æneid*, Horace, upon occasion of that voyage, composed an ode full of vows, which unfortunately were not heard. It is the third of the first book.

*Sic te diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat pater,
Obstrictis aliis, præter Iapyga,
Navis, quæ tibi creditum
Debes Virgilium; finibus Atticis
Reddas incolumem, precor,
Et ferves animæ dimidium meæ.*

*So may th' auspicious queen of love,
And the twin stars, the seed of Jove,
And he, who rules the raging wind,
To thee, oh sacred ship, be kind,
And gentle breezes fill thy sails,
Supplying soft Elysian gales;
As thou to whom the muse commends
The best of poets, and of friends,
Dost thy committed pledge restore,
And land him safely on the shore,*

And

*And save the better part of me
From perishing with him at sea.*

Dryden to Lord Roscom.

We may judge of Mæcenas's tender friendship for Horace, by the few words he wrote to Augustus in his will: *I conjure you to have the same regard for Horace as my self.* Augustus offered him the employment of secretary to himself, and wrote for that purpose to Mæcenas in these terms. *Hitherto I have had no occasion for any body to write my letters; but at present the multiplicity of affairs, and infirmity, make me desire you to bring our Horace with you. Let him then cease to be a * parasite at your table, and come to mine to assist me in writing my letters.* Horace, who was very fond of his liberty, did not think proper to accept so honourable an offer, which would have laid him under too great restraint, and excused himself upon account of his real or pretended infirmities. The prince was not in the least offended by Horace's refusal of that office, and retained the same friendship for him as before. Some time after he wrote to him to this effect. † *Believe you have some right to be free with me, and pray use it, as if we lived together: in doing which, you only act as you may with the justest pretence; for you know it was my desire, that we should have been upon those terms, if your health would have admitted it.*

With how many reflections does this little circumstance supply us in respect to the goodness of Augustus, the frankness of Horace, the easy sim-

* Veniet igitur ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam. *The pleasantry of Augustus turns upon Horace's not being of Mæcenas's family, and consequently having no right to eat at his table.*

† Sume tibi aliquid juris apud me, tanquam si convictor mihi fueris. Rectè enim & non temerè feceris, quoniam id usûs mihi tecum esse volui, si per valetudinem tuam fieri posset. *Suet. in vit. Virg.*

plicity and unconstraint of the commerce of the world in those days, and the difference between ours and the manners of the antients. A privy secretary at table with an Emperor! A poet refuses that honour, without the Emperor's taking offence!

Horace's pleasures were confined to his houses either in the country of the Sabines, or at Tibur, where free from care and disquiet, he enjoyed in an agreeable retreat all the sweets of leisure and repose, the sole objects of his wishes.

*O rus, quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno & inertibus horis,
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?*

The court, which is so pleasing to the ambitious, was to him only banishment and a prison. He thought he only lived and respired when he returned to his dear country abode, where he found himself more happy than all the monarchs of the earth.

—*Vivo & regno, simul ista reliqui,
Quæ vos ad cælum effertis clamore secundo.*

He died in the consulship of C. Marcius Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus, at the age of fifty ³⁹⁹⁷ seven, after having nominated Augustus his heir ^{Ant. J. C. 7.} before witnesses, the violence of his illness not allowing him time to sign his will. He was interred at the extremity of the Esquiline hill in a tomb joining to that of Mæcenas, who died a little before him the same year. He had always desired, and even seemed to have bound himself by oath, not to survive him.

*Ab te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus æquè, nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utramque*

Ducet

*Ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum
Dixi sacramentum. Ibimus, ibimus,
Utrumque præcedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati. Od. 17. 1. 2.*

The works of Horace consist only of his Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles, with the Art of Poetry.

I have spoke of his Odes, and given their character, in comparing them with those of Pindar.

His Satyrs and Epistles are, in my opinion, of inestimable value. They are void of all shew and glitter. Their style is generally a kind of prose in verse, that has neither the pomp nor even the sweetness and harmony of poetical measures. This does not proceed from the incapacity of Horace to make fine verses. Does not the passage by which he excuses his want of sufficient talents for celebrating the actions of Augustus, demonstrate how capable he was of it?

—————*Cupidum, pater optime, vires
Deficiunt. Neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
Agmina, nec fracta pereuntes cuspide Gallos,
Aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi.*

Sat. 1. 1. 2.

Is there in any poet a description of greater elegance, expression, and energy, or one that paints a fact in livelier colours, than that of the country mouse's entertainment of the city mouse.

—————*Olim
Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum :
Asper, & attentus quæsit ; ut tamen arctum
Solveret hospitiiis animum. Quid multa ? Neq; illi
Sepositi ciceris, nec longæ invidit avenæ :
Aridum & ore ferens acinum, semesaque lardi
Frustra*

*Frustra dedit, cupiens variâ fastidia cœnâ
Vincere tangentis malè singula dente superbo.*

Sat. 6. l. 2.

The rest of the fable is in the same taste.

This elegance, this grace and spirit of language and images are not (generally speaking) to be found either in the satyrs or epistles. What is it then that affects us so agreeably in reading them? It is the delicacy, urbanity, fine raillery, and easy manner, which prevail in them: it is a certain air and vigour of nature, simplicity, and truth: it is even that affected negligence in the measure of the verses, which still adds a more native air to the sense, an effect the * Marotic style has in our language: it is a fund of reason, good sense, and judgment, that shews itself every where; with a wonderful art in painting the characters of men, and placing their faults and ridicule in full light. Only great and peculiar beauty and force of genius can make such lively impressions as these on the mind without the help of poetical graces, numbers, and harmony.

Quintilian contents himself, after having spoke of Lucilius, with saying, “that † Horace has “abundance more elegance, and purity of style, “and that he excels in criticising the manners and “vices of men.”

The art of poetry, with some of the satyrs and epistles that turn upon the same subject, include whatever is most essential in regard to the rules of poetry. This little essay may be considered as an excellent abridgment of rhetoric, and highly proper to form the taste.

* The style of C. Marot a French poet, in which Fontaine followed and excelled him. Its characters are the natural, simple, humorous, and antique, of

which last it affects the terms.

† Multo est tersior ac purus magis Horatius, & ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus. Lib. 10. c. 1.

I say nothing of the manners of Horace. To judge of him only by certain passages in his works, one would take him for the most virtuous man in the world, and even an austere philosopher. If we may believe him, “ he finds all time long and
 “ tedious, but that which he employs in the sole
 “ object worthy of our cares, which is equally
 “ useful to rich and poor, and when neglected is
 “ alike pernicious to youth and age.”

*Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quæ spem
 Consiliumque morantur agendi gnaviter id quod
 Æquè pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æquè,
 Æquè neglectum senibus puerisque nocebit.*

At bottom he is a true Epicurean, solely intent upon his pleasures, and so loose in his sentiments and expressions, that, as Quintilian says of him, a man of breeding or morality would not willingly explain certain passages in his works : *Horatium in quibusdam nolim interpretari*. This does not prevent his having excellent maxims of morality. It is with Horace, as with the rest of the heathen authors. When it does not clash with their darling passion, and the question is to lay down fine principles, not to put them in practice, they not only speak the most refined truths and the most elegant reason, but often even religion, in the most beautiful and just terms. This we ought to consider as the precious remains of the esteem for beauty and perfection, implanted in the heart of man by the Author of nature, and which his corruption could not entirely extinguish.

OVID.

A. M.
 3961.
 Ant. J. C.
 43.

OVID (*Publius Ovidius Naso*) of the Equestrian order, was born in the consulship of Hirtius and

and Panfa, as well as Tibullus, in the 709th year of Rome.

He studied eloquence under Arellius Fuscus, and declaimed in his school with great success. Senec.
Contr. 10.
l. 2.

He had by nature so strong an inclination for versifying, that to indulge it, he renounced all care of his fortune. But if this propensity to verse entirely extinguished in him the flame of ambition, on the contrary it nourished and augmented that of love, a most pernicious passion to those who abandon themselves wholly to it.

His father saw him quit the usual course of the Roman youth with pain, and absolutely renounce the hopes of honours and offices, to pursue an unhappy taste, that tended to nothing, and of which no doubt he foresaw all the bad effects. He spoke to him in the strongest terms, made use of remonstrances and entreaties, asking him what advantage he could propose to himself from that frivolous study, and whether he imagined he should excel Homer either in reputation or fortune, who died poor. The lively reproaches of his father made an impression upon him. In deference to his advice, he determined to make no more verses, to write only in prose, and to qualify himself for the employments that suited young men of his rank. Whatever efforts he made, or pretended to make, nature still prevailed. Ovid was a poet in spite of himself: the feet and numbers rose of themselves under his pen; and every thing he attempted to write, was verse.

Sæpe pater dixit : studium quid inutile tentas ?

Mæonides nullas ipse reliquit opes.

Motus eram dictis, totoque Helicone relicto

Scribere conabar verba soluta modis.

Sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos ;

Et, quod tentabam scribere, versus erat.

He composed with wonderful facility, and could not give himself the trouble to retouch his verses; all fire in composing, and all ice in correcting, as he tells us himself.

The negligence of his style might be forgiven, if it was not attended with unbounded licentiousness in point of manners, and if he had not filled his poems with filth and obscenity. Augustus made them the pretext for banishing him: a very laudable motive, if the real one, for that conduct. Such poets are poison and contagion to the public, with whom all commerce ought to be prohibited, and their poems to be abhorred as the bane of mankind. But this was only pretext. A secret cause of discontent, of which Ovid often speaks in his verses, but in general terms and without explaining it, that has always remained unknown, was the cause of his misfortune.

He was banished to Tomos, a city of Pontus in Europe upon the Euxine sea, near the mouths of the Danube. The emperor neither confiscated his estate, nor caused him to be condemned by a decree of the senate, and made use of the term *relegare*, which in the Roman law is of more gentle construction than *to banish*.

He was in the fifty-first year of his age, when he set out from Rome to Tomos, and had composed his *Metamorphoses* before his disgrace. On his condemnation to quit Rome he threw it into the fire, either out of indignation, or because he had not put the last hand to, and entirely finished it.

*Carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas,
Infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus :
Hæc ego discedens, sicut bona multa meorum,
Ipse mea posui mæstus in igne manu.*

Trist. l. 1. Eleg. 6. & l. 3. Eleg. 14.

Some copies, which had before been taken of that work, prevented its being lost.

The

The place to which he was sent, was a real place of punishment to him : he gives us terrible descriptions of it in several parts of his poems. What distressed him most there, was his being exposed to the severe coldness of the climate, in the neighbourhood of a barbarous and warlike people, who were always in arms, and giving him perpetual apprehensions : a melancholy situation for a delicate Italian, who had passed his life in a mild and agreeable climate, and had always enjoyed ease and tranquillity.

Though he could not obtain either to be recalled, or to have the place of his banishment changed, he never failed in his respect for the emperor, and persisted unalterably in praising him with an excess next to idolatry. He may even be said to have literally and actually idolized him, when he was informed of his death. He not only wrote a poem in his praise in the Getic language, to make him known and respected by those barbarous nations, but invoked him also, and consecrated a chapel to him, where he went every morning to offer incense, and adore him.

Nec pietas ignota mea est : videt hospita terra

In nostra sacrum Cæsaris esse domo.

Hic ego do toties cum thure precantia verba,

Eoo quoties surgit ab orbe dies.

De Ponto, l. 4. Epist. 19.

The successor and family of that prince had a great share in all this worship, and were evidently the real objects of it. Ovid however did not find it a remedy for his misfortunes. The court was as inexorable under Tiberius as before. He died in his banishment the fourth year of that emperor's reign, and the 771st of Rome, at about sixty years of age, after having been nine or ten years in Pontus.

He had desired, in case he died in the country of the Getæ, that his ashes might be carried to Rome, in order that he might not continue an exile after his death, and that the following epigraph might be inscribed on his tomb.

Hic ego qui jaceo tenerorum lusor amorum,
Ingenio perii Naso poëta meo.

At tibi, qui transis, ne sit grave, quisquis amasti,
Dicere; Nasonis molliter ossa cubent.

*Here Naso lies, who sung of soft desire,
Victim of too much wit, and too much fire.
Say, who have lov'd, whene'er you pass these stones,
Light lie the earth on hapless Naso's bones.*

Ovid apprehended the immortality of the soul, (with more reason than he thought) and desired that it might perish with the body, for he did not care that his shade should wander amongst those of the Sauromatæ. Hence he desired that his bones might at least have a grave at Rome.

*Atque utinam pereant animæ cum corpore nostræ,
Effugiatque avidos pars mea nulla rogos.
Nam si morte carens vacuas volat altus in auras
Spiritus, & Samii sunt rata dicta senis;
Inter Sarmaticas Romana vagabitur umbras,
Perque feros manes hospita semper erit.
Ossa tamen facito parva referantur in urna:
Sic ego non etiam mortuus exul ero.*

He had composed both before and after his banishment a great number of verses, of which many are lost; and it were to be wished that still less had come down to us. His Medea is extolled for a perfect tragedy, which shews, says Quintilian, in whose time it was extant, of what that poet was capable, if instead of abandoning himself to the luxuriance of his too easy and fertile genius, he had chose rather to check, than indulge, its rapidity.

dity. *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum* Quintil.
vir ille præstare potuerit, si ingenio suo temperare l. 10. c. 1.
quam indulgere maluisset.

The same Quintilian passes his judgment upon this poet's works in few, but very just and expressive, words, and which, in my opinion, perfectly characterize them. *Lascivus quidem in Heroicis quoque Ovidius, & nimium amator ingenii sui : laudandus tamen in partibus.* And indeed, Ovid's great fault is redundance, which occasions his being too loose and diffused, and proceeded from the warmth and abundance of his genius, and his affecting wit at the expence of the solid and the great; *lascivus*. Every thing he threw upon paper, pleased him. He had for all his productions a more than paternal indulgence, which would not permit him to retrench, or so much as alter, any thing. *Nimium amator ingenii sui.* It must however be confessed, that he is admirable in parts: *laudandus tamen in partibus.* Thus in his Metamorphoses, which is indisputably the finest of his works, there are a great number of passages of exquisite beauty and taste. And this was the work he valued most himself, and from which he principally expected the immortality of his name.

*Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
 Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.*

Metam. lib. 15. in fine.

TIBULLUS and PROPERTIUS.

These two poets, who flourished at very near the same time, and excelled in the same kind of poetry, are judged to have wrote with great purity of style and delicacy. Tibullus is preferred to Propertius.

P H Æ D R U S.

PHÆDRUS, a native of Thrace, Augustus's freedman, wrote in the time of Tiberius. We have five books of Fables, composed by this author in Iambic verse, which himself called Æsop's fables, because he made that inventor of them his model; from whom he has also often borrowed the subject of his fables.

*Æsopus auctor quam materiam repperit,
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.* Prolog. l. 1.

He declares from the begining of his work, that this little book has two advantages; which are, to amuse and divert the reader, and at the same time to supply him with wise counsels for the conduct of life.

*Duplex libelli dos est, quod risum movet,
Et quod prudenti vitam consilio monet.* Ibid.

And indeed, besides that the subjects of this work, in which beasts, and even trees are introduced speaking with wit, are diverting in themselves, the manner in which they were treated has all the beauty and elegance it is possible to throw into it; so that Phædrus may be said to have used in his fables the language of nature herself, so plain and simple is his style, and at the same time so full of wit and delicacy.

They are no less valuable in respect to the wise counsels and solid morals they contain. I have observed elsewhere, in speaking of Æsop, how much this manner of instructing was in honour and use amongst the ancients, and the value the most learned men set upon it. Were we only to consider these fables by the advantage to be made of them in the education of children, to whom, under the appearance of agreeable stories, they begin so early to propose principles of probity and wisdom, we could

could not but conceive highly of their merit.' Phædrus has carried his views still farther : there is no age, nor condition, but may find excellent maxims in them for the conduct of life. As virtue is every where treated with honour and crowned with glory in them ; so they represent the vices, as injustice, calumny, violence, in lively but frightful colours, which make them the contempt, hatred, and detestation of every body. And this undoubtedly was what exasperated Sejanus against him, and exposed him to extreme danger under a minister, who was the irreconcilable enemy of all merit and virtue. Phædrus mentions neither the cause, any particular circumstance, nor the event of this animosity. He only complains that all the forms of justice are violated in regard to him, having his declared enemy Sejanus himself for his accuser, witness, and judge.

*Quòd si accusator alius Sejano foret,
Si testis alius, judex alius denique,
Dignum faterer esse me tantis malis.*

In Prolog. l. 3.

It is very probable, that unworthy favourite, who insolently abused his master's confidence, had taken offence at some strokes in those fables, which might be applied to him. But as there was no name to them, his making that application, was confessing, or at least knowing, himself guilty ; Phædrus having no other view than to lash the vices of mankind in general, as he expressly declares.

*Suspicionem si quis errabit sua,
Et rapiet ad se quod erit commune omnium ;
Stultè nudabit animi conscientiam.
Huic excusatum me velim nihilominus.
Neque enim notare singulos mens est mihi,
Verum ipsam vitam & mores hominum ostendere.*

Ibid,
Neither

Neither the time, place, nor any other circumstance of his death are known. He is believed to have survived Sejanus, who died in the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.

Phædrus has given a very honourable testimony of himself, in declaring that he had banished all desire of riches from his heart.

*Quamvis in ipsa natus penè sim schola,
Curamque habendi penitus corde eraserim.* Ibid.

He does not seem either so indifferent or disinterested with regard to praise; and is very apt to speak of his own merit. It was indeed so great, that we have nothing more excellent than his fables come down to us from the antient world, I mean in the simple and natural kind.

Epig. 20.
i 3.

It is surprizing that with all this merit Phædrus should be so little known and celebrated by antient authors. Only two speak of him, Martial and Avienus; and it is still doubted, whether the verses of the first, that mention Phædrus, mean our author. So learned a man as Casaubon did not know that there was such a book as Phædrus in the world, till the edition published at Troies by Peter Pithou in 1596. The latter sent one of them to F. Sirmond, who was then at Rome. That jesuit shewed it to the Learned there, who at first judged it spurious. But upon a nearer examination they changed their opinion, and believed that they saw some characters of the Augustan age in it. Father Vavasseur relates this little circumstance with his usual elegance.

In Tract.
de Ludi-
cra dict.

Fontaine, who carried this kind of writing to its highest perfection in the French language, by treading in the steps of Phædrus, has however differed greatly from his original. Whether he thought the French language not susceptible of that happy simplicity, which charms and trans-
ports

ports all persons of taste in the Latin authors; or found, that manner of writing did not suit his genius, he formed a style entirely peculiar to himself, of which perhaps the Latin tongue itself is incapable, and which without being less elegantly plain and natural, is more humorous, more various, easy and full of graces, but graces, which have nothing of pomp, swell and affectation, and which only serve to render the sense and circumstances more gay and amusing.

The same, in my opinion, may be said in respect to Terence and Molière. They both excel in their way, and have carried comedy to the highest perfection, to which perhaps it is capable of attaining. But their way of writing is different. Terence excels Molière in purity, delicacy, and elegance of language. But then the French poet is infinitely above Terence in the conduct and plan of his plays, which form one of the principal beauties of dramatic poems; and especially in the justness and variety of his characters. He has perfectly observed the precept Horace gives poets who would succeed in this way of writing, that is, to copy nature in the manners and inclinations of men, which age and condition vary exceedingly.

*Ætatis cujusque notandi sunt tibi mores,
Mobilibusque decor naturis dandus & annis.*

Horat. in Art. Poet.

S E C T. III.

Third age of the Latin poetry.

I HAVE already said, that this third age of Latin poetry began about the middle of Tiberius's reign. Some of the poets, of whom I shall soon speak, might be ranked amongst those of the best age, to which they are very near both in time and

and merit. It is however believed, that there is some difference discernible in them.

S E N E C A.

Of the ten Latin tragedies which have been collected and published together under the name of Seneca, it is generally enough agreed, that the finest were wrote by the celebrated Philosopher, who was Nero's preceptor. The Medea is believed to be undoubtedly his, because Quintilian quotes a passage from it, to which he adds his name. There are some particular reasons also for ascribing the *Œdipus* to him. Mr. Le Fevre finds too much of the declamation and the schools in the *Agamemnon*, *Troas*, and *Hercules*. Others however believe, that the *Troas* and *Hippolytus* are really his : but that the *Agamemnon*, *Hercules furens*, *Thyestes*, and *Hercules Œtæus*, are either Seneca the father's, or some other unknown author's. As to the *Thebais* and *Octavia*, they are thought entirely unworthy of Seneca's genius and eloquence. And it is certain that the latter was not writ till after the death of Seneca, and even of Nero.

P E R S I U S.

PERSIUS, (*Aulus Persius Flaccus*) a satyric poet in the reign of Nero, was born at Volaterræ, a city of Tuscany. He was of the Equestrian order, and related and allied to persons of the first rank. He studied till twelve years old at Volaterræ ; and afterwards at Rome under the Grammarian Palæmon, the Rhetorician Verginius, and a Stoick philosopher named Cornutus, who conceived a particular friendship for him, and with whom he always lived in the greatest intimacy,

This poet was of a very gentle and humane disposition, very friendly and obliging to his relations.

ions and acquaintance, and extremely regular in his manners and conduct. In his satyrs he often censures the faults of the orators and poets of his time, without sparing Nero himself.

*Aurículas asini * quis non habet ?*

We read there also these four verses, which are believed Nero's, and which he cites as an example of the tumid or bombastic style.

*Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,
Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo
Bassaris, & lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis
Evion ingeminat : reparabilis adsonat Echo.*

Boileau justifies himself by this example. " Let us examine Persius, says he, who wrote in the reign of Nero. He does not confine himself to ridiculing the works of the poets of his time, he attacks the verses of Nero himself. For every body knows, and Nero's court knew, that the four verses *Torva Mimalloneis*, &c. which Persius raillies so severely in his first satyr, were Nero's. However we do not find that Nero, all Nero as he was, inflicted any punishment upon Persius : that tyrant, the enemy of reason, and enamoured, as all know, of his own works, was however so much a gallant man, as to understand raillery in respect to his verses, and did not believe the emperor, on this occasion, ought to take upon himself what concerned the poet."

The work of Persius, in which refined morality, and a wonderful fund of sense, distinguished themselves every where, though of no great extent, has acquired him great glory, and a glory of the most solid kind, says Quintilian. *Multum, & veræ gloriæ, quamvis uno libro, meruit Persius.* It must however be owned, that the obscurity which

* *It is said he wrote at first, Aurículas asini Mida rex habet.*
prevails

prevails in his satires, exceedingly diminishes their merit. This made a certain person say, that since Persius would not be understood, he would not understand him. *Si non vis intelligi, nec ego volo te intelligere.*

He died at only twenty-eight years of age, in the 62d year of our Lord, which was the 8th year of Nero's reign. In gratitude to his master and friend Cornutus, he left him his library, which consisted of seven hundred volumes, a very considerable one in those days, with a great sum of money. Cornutus accepted the books, but gave the money to the heirs of Persius, who were his sisters.

JUVENAL.

I antedate the time of Juvenal here, in order to join those two Satyric poets together.

Juvenal (*Decimus*, or *Decius Junius Juvenalis*) was of Aquinum in the kingdom of Naples. He lived at Rome about the end of Domitian's reign, and even in Nerva's and Trajan's. He acquired great reputation by his satires, of which sixteen are come down to us. He passed the greatest part of his life in the exercises of the schools, where he was famous for being a vehement declaimer :

Juvenal, élevé dans les cris de l'Ecole,
Poussa jusqu'à l'excès sa mordante hyperbole.

Boileau.

*He, bred in bawling schools debate to wage,
Push'd to excess his hyperbolick rage.*

Julius Scaliger, who is always singular in his sentiments, prefers the force of Juvenal to Horace's simplicity. But all people of good taste agree, that the declamatory and bitter genius of Juvenal, is much inferior to the natural, delicate, and refined simplicity of Horace's satyr.

In

In his seventh satire he had ventured to attack ^{Vet.} the comedian Paris, whose power was enormous ^{Juven. vi.} at court, and who bestowed all offices both civil and military.

*Ille & militiæ multis largitur honorem,
Semestri vatum digitos circumligat auro,
Quod non dant proceres, dabit histrion.*

The proud comedian did not suffer so offensive an attempt without resenting it. He caused Juvenal to be banished into Egypt, by sending him thither to command a body of troops encamped at the extremity of that country. After Domitian's death he returned to Rome, where he remained, as is judged from some of his satires, till the reign of Adrian.

It is believed that Quintilian, who made it his rule not to name any living author, means Juvenal, when he says, that there are satyric poets of his time well worthy of esteem, and who will one day be very famous. *Sunt clari hodieque & qui olim nominabuntur.* Lib. 10.
C. 1.

It were to be wished, that, in reproving the manners of others with too much severity, he had not shewn, that he himself was void of modesty; and that he had not combated vices in a manner, that rather teaches the practice, than inspires the horror, of them.

L U C A N.

LUCAN (*M. Annæus Lucanus*) was Seneca's nephew. The most celebrated of his works is his *Pharsalia*, in which he relates the war of Cæsar and Pompey. He abounds with fine thoughts, and there is great spirit and vivacity in his style: but Quintilian thinks him rather to be reckoned amongst the orators than the poets. *Lucanus ar-* Quintil.
l. 10. c. 1.
dens, & concitatus, & sententiis clarissimus; &, ut
dicam

dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis annumerandus. To equal Lucan with Virgil, as some are willing to do, is not exalting Lucan, but shewing little discernment. We may however say of him, that if years had ripened Lucan's genius, who perhaps was not twenty-six when he died; and added Virgil's judgment to his fire and sublimity, he might have been a consummate poet. Many of his poems are lost.

The life of Lucan, ascribed to Suetonius, accuses him of a light intemperate tongue, and particularly of having spoke of Nero, who loved him, in a manner capable of exasperating even a mild and rational prince.

He was one of the * first that entered into Piso's conspiracy, out of resentment to Nero, who, thro' mean jealousy, suppressed the reputation of his poems, and prevented him from publishing them. That prince ordered Lucan to be put to death, and his veins were opened. When he perceived the warmth abandon the extremities of his body, remembering that he had formerly described a soldier expiring in that manner, he repeated the verses that expressed his death, which were his last words: a frivolous consolation for a dying man, but worthy an heathen poet. He died in the 65th year of the Christian Æra, and in the twelfth of Nero.

PETRONIUS.

PETRONIUS (*Petronius Arbiter*) was of Provence, in the country near Marseilles, as Sidonius Apollinarius informs us, and lived, according to the more received opinion, in the reigns of Claudius and Nero.

* Lucanum propriæ causæ accendebant, quod famam carminum ejus premebat Nero, prohibueratque ostentare, vanus adlimulatione. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 15. c. 49.

We have of this author's works the remains of a satyr, or rather of several satirical books (*Satyricæ*) which he composed both in verse and prose. This is a kind of Romance in the same form as the satyrs, which Varro, as I have said before, had invented by mingling verse and prose, the serious with the gay, agreeably; and which he called *Menippeæ*, from Menippus the Cynic, who before him had treated grave subjects in a style of pleasantry and ridicule.

These fragments are only an indigested collection of detached parts, taken from the papers of somebody, who had extracted what he liked best from Petronius without any order. The learned find in them extreme refinement and delicacy of taste, and a wonderful happiness in painting the different characters of those he introduces speaking. They observe however, though Petronius seems to have been a great critic, and a writer of a most exquisite taste, that his style does not entirely come up to the delicacy of his judgment; that it is not without some affectation; is too florid and elaborate; and that it degenerates even so early as his time from the natural and majestic simplicity of the golden age of Augustus. But were his style much more perfect, he would be still the more dangerous to his readers, from the obscenities with which he has filled his work.

It is doubted, whether this Petronius be the same mentioned by Tacitus. That historian gives us the following picture of Petronius Turpilianus, which sufficiently agrees with the idea the reading of the work in question gives us of its author. "He was
 " a * voluptuous man, who passed the day in sleep,
 " and

* Illi dies per somnum, nox
 officiis & oblectamentis vitæ
 transigebantur. Utque alios
 industria, ita hunc ignavia ad

fatiam protulerat, habebatur-
 que non ganeo & profligator,
 ut plerique sua haurientium,
 sed erudito luxu. Ac dicta

V O L. XII.

H

factaque

“ and the night in pleasures or business. As others
 “ acquire reputation by industry, he had made
 “ himself famous for his idleness. He did not
 “ pass however for a prodigal and a debauchee,
 “ like those who ruin themselves by excesses void
 “ of sense and taste, but for a man of a refined
 “ and learned luxury. All his words and actions
 “ were the more pleasing, as they carried with
 “ them, even when loosest, a certain air of neg-
 “ ligence peculiar to him, which as it seemed na-
 “ ture itself, had all the charms of simplicity.
 “ Notwithstanding, when he was proconsul of
 “ Bithynia, and afterwards when consul, he dis-
 “ covered a capacity for the greatest employments.
 “ Returning after to a voluptuous life, either
 “ out of inclination or policy, because the prince
 “ loved debauch, he became one of his principal
 “ confidants. It was he that regulated every thing
 “ in Nero’s parties of pleasure ; who thought no-
 “ thing agreeable nor in taste, which Petronius had
 “ not approved. This excited the envy of Ti-
 “ gellinus against him, as a dangerous rival, that
 “ excelled himself in the knowledge of pleasures,
 “ and the science of voluptuousness.” Petronius
 killed himself to avoid the death, to which the em-
 peror had condemned him upon a false accusation.

If this Petronius be not the writer intended here,
 so admirable a picture will at least serve to give us
 an idea of the style of Tacitus, of whom I shall
 have occasion to speak in the sequel.

fastaque ejus, quanto solutiora,
 & quandam sui negligentiam
 preferentia, tanto gratius in
 speciem simplicitatis accipie-
 bantur. Proconsul tamen Bithy-
 niæ, & mox Consul, vigentem
 se ac parem negotiis ostendit:
 deinde revolutus ad vitia, seu
 vitiorum imitationem, inter

paucos familiarium Neroni ad-
 sumptus est, elegantiae arbi-
 ter, dum nihil amœnum &
 molle, nisi quod ei Petronius
 approbavisset. Unde invidia
 Tigellini, quasi adversus æmu-
 lum, & scientia voluptatum
 potiorum. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 16.
 c. 18.

SILIUS ITALICUS.

C. SILIUS ITALICUS rendered himself famous by his poem on the second Punic war.

He was not born * a poet, and study did not entirely supply what he wanted on the side of nature. Besides which he did not apply himself to poetry, *Martial.* till after he had long exercised the function of an advocate at the bar, and had been consul, that is to say in a very advanced and languid period of life. *Ep. 63. l. 7.*

Whatever † praises *Martial* bestows on him, he is not much esteemed as a poet: he is however deemed to excel all the writers of his time in purity of language. He follows the truth of history exactly enough, and lights may be found in his poem, though not his principal design, into things which passed in the times of which he writes; there being facts in him not to be found elsewhere.

What he says of *Domitian*, sufficiently shews, that he wrote in the reign of that prince, after the war with the *Sarmatæ*, in which that with the *Daci* may be included.

He is believed to have died in the time of *Trajan*. *Plin. Ep. 7. l. 3.* He starved himself to death, not being able to bear the pain of an ulcer, which the physicians could not cure. *Pliny* observes, that *Silius* having retired into *Campania* upon account of his old age, did not quit his retreat to come to *Rome*, in order to congratulate *Trajan* upon his accession to the empire. || That prince was

* *Scribebat carmina majore cura quam ingenio. Plin. Ep. 7. l. 3.*

† *Perpetui nunquam moritura volumina Silii
Qui legis, & Latia carmina digna toga. Ep. 63. l. 7.*

|| *Magna Cæsaris laus, sub quo hoc liberum fuit: magna illius, qui hac libertate ausus uti. Plin. ibid.*

highly praised for not being offended at such a liberty ; and he for venturing to take it.

If our poet could not attain to a perfect imitation of Virgil, at least it was impossible to carry respect for him higher than he did. When he had got possession of the place where Virgil's tomb stood *, it became sacred, and a kind of temple to him. He celebrated that poet's birth-day every year with greater joy and solemnity than his own. He could not suffer so venerable a monument to remain neglected in the hands of a poor peasant, and purchased it.

*Jam propè desertos cineres, & sancta Maronis
Nomina qui coleret, pauper & unus erat.
Silius optatæ succurrere censuit umbræ :
Silius & vatem, non minor ipse, colit.*

Martial. Epig. 50. l. 11.

Silius's work had lain buried for many ages in the dust of the library of St. Gal. Poggius found it there during the council of Constance, with many other manuscripts, as I have already observed elsewhere.

STATIUS.

STATIUS (*P. Statius Papinius*) lived in the reign of Domitian. Martial never mentions him, though they were cotemporaries at Rome, which is believed to proceed from jealousy, because the extreme facility of Statius in making extemporary verses made him highly agreeable to Domitian.

We have two heroic poems of Statius : the *Thebaid* in twelve books, and the *Achilleid* in only two, because he was prevented by death from making an end of it.

* Cujus (Virgilii) natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat; Neapoli maxime, ubi

monumentum ejus adire ut templum solebat. *Plin. ibid.*

His poems were highly esteemed at Rome in his time. Juvenal mentions the extraordinary crowding to hear them, and the applauses they received.

*Curritur ad vocem jucundam, & carmen amicæ
Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,
Promisitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos
Adficit ille animos, tantaque libidine vulgi
Auditur.* Satyr. 6. l. 3.

If we are to take the verses that follow these literally, and if they are not one of the hyperboles so common to Juvenal, they tell us that Statius was poor, and after having acquired great reputation by his Thebaid, was obliged to compose dramatic poems, and to sell them to the actors for the means of life.

——— *Sed cum fregit subsellia versu,
Esfurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.*

Julius Scaliger affirms that no author, either antient or modern, comes so near Virgil as Statius, and makes no difficulty to give him the preference to all the heroic poets, Greek or Latin, maintaining at the same time that his verses are better even than Homer's. Such a judgment shews that illustrious critic not to have had so much justness of taste, as erudition. The one often hurts the other.

Statius, as well as Lucan and Silius, has treated his subject rather like an historian than a poet, without confining himself to what constitutes the essence of a true Epic poem. As to his diction and versification, in too much endeavouring to rise and appear great, he gives into bombast, and becomes tumid.

VALERIUS FLACCUS.

As the reign of Augustus produced the most ex-

cellent of the Latin poets, that of Domitian has also given us the most considerable poets of the second class.

C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus. This poet was born at Setia a town of Campania, but had fixed his abode at Padua.

His heroic poem upon the voyage of the Argonauts in eight books is come down to us. It was begun in the reign of Vespasian, to whom it is inscribed; but the author was prevented from finishing it by a sudden death. The best judges have but an indifferent opinion of this work, because there are several things in it contrary to the rules of art, no grace and beauty, with a style, which, from affecting a greatness it wants nerves to sustain, becomes cold and languid. Quintilian says however, that the Latin poetry had lost much by his death, which happened in the latter part of Domitian's reign. *Multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amissimus.*

Lib. 10.
c. 1.

Martial writes to him as to his friend, and advises him to renounce poesy for the bar, and apply himself to something, by which more is to be got than by courting the muses, from whom he has nothing to expect, but unavailing wreaths and barren praise, attended with want and misery.

Pierios differ cantusque chorosque Sororum :

Æs dabit ex illis nulla Puella tibi——

*Præter aquas Helicon, & ferta, lyrasque dearum,
Nil habet, & magnum sed perinane sopbos.*

Ep. 76. l. 1.

MARTIAL.

MARTIAL (*M. Valerius Martialis*) succeeded in the epigram. He was a Spaniard of the city of Bilbilis, which is said to have been not far from that of Caltaïnda in Arragon. He was born in the time of Claudius, and at the age of twenty came

to Rome in Nero's reign, where he staid thirty years, beloved by the emperors, and in particular by Domitian, who conferred many favours upon him. It is believed, that his not being so well treated after the emperor's death, induced him to retire into his own country. He had full time there to grow weary of it, for want of good company, and such as had a taste for polite learning, which made him often think of his residence at Rome with regret. For instead of his verses being exceedingly admired and applauded, as they were in that learned city, at Bilbilis they only excited envy and slander against him; a treatment very hard to bear every day with patience. *Accedit his municipalium rubigo dentium, Et judicii loco livor—adversus quod difficile est habere quotidie bonum stomachum.* He died in the reign of Trajan, about the year of Christ 100.

Martial. in
Præf. l. 12.

Fourteen books of epigrams and one upon Shews remain of his writings. Vossius believes the latter a collection of Martial's verses, and those of some other poets of his time upon the shews exhibited by Titus in the year of Christ 80.

Pliny, in honour of whom he had composed an epigram, (the 19th of the 10th book) gave him a sum of money when he retired from Rome: for he had made but small acquisitions in respect to the goods of fortune. Pliny on this occasion observes, that it was antiently the custom to confer rewards either of profit or honour upon those who had celebrated the glory of cities, or certain illustrious persons. At present, says he, that fashion is expired, with others no less great and noble. When we left off doing actions worthy of praise, we began to despise it: (if not with justice, at least with reason; for it reproached our want of merit.) *Postquam desimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.*

Plin. Ep.
11. l. 3.

He lamented the death of Martial, when he was informed of it, and loved and esteemed his genius: but it were to be wished that his verses had always been as chaste and modest, as they are sometimes witty.

He is reproached for too much bitterness and ill-nature, his shameful flattery of Domitian, and his unworthy treatment of him after his death.

The love of subtleties or witticism, and the affectation of points in discourse, had from the time of Tiberius and Caligula, taken place of the fine taste that prevailed in the reign of Augustus. Those defects increased perpetually, which occasioned Martial's pleasing so much. All his epigrams are far from having the same force and spirit; to which this verse of his own has been justly applied:

Sunt bona, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt mala
plura.

Some good, some tolerable, but more bad.

And indeed most of them are bad; he has however some that are excellent: of which I shall give the reader the following examples.

Upon an excellent piece of sculpture.

Artis Phidiacæ toreuma clarum

Pisces adspicis: adde aquam, natabunt. *Ep.* 35. l. 3.

Upon the slowness of a barber.

Eutrapelus tonfor dum circuit ora Luperci,

Expingitque genas, altera barba subit. *Ep.* 83. l. 7.

Advice to a person not to go to law.

Et judex petit, & petit patronus:

Solvas cenfeo, Sexte, creditori. *Ep.* 13. l. 2.

A judge, you say,—and patron you must get?

Take my advice, good Sextus; pay the debt.

Upon the sudden death of one who had often been victorious in the races of the Circus.

Ille ego sum Scopus, clamosi gloria Circi ;
 Plausus, Roma, tui, deliciæque breves :
 Invida quem Lachesis raptum trieteride nona,
 Dum numerat palmas, credidit esse senem.
Ep. 51. l. 10.

Upon the bold action of Mucius Scævola.

Dum peteret Regem decepta satellite dextra,
 Injecit sacris se peritura focis.
 Sed tam sæva pius miracula non tulit hostis,
 Et raptum flammis jussit abire virum.
 Urere quam potuit contempto Mucius igne,
 Hanc spectare manum Porfena non potuit.
 Major deceptæ fama est & gloria dextræ :
 Si non errasset, fecerat illa minus. *Ep. 22. l. 1.*

Against the inhumanity of a covetous rich man.

Tu spectas hiemem succincti lentus amici,
 (Prô scelus !) & lateris frigora trita mei.
 Quantum erat, infelix, pannis fraudare duobus,
 (Quid renuis ?) non te, Nævole, sed tineas ?
Ep. 46. l. 2.

No riches are in reality saved but those we give away.

Callidus effracta nummos fur auferet arca :
 Prosternet patrios impia flamma lares——
 Extra fortunam est quicquid donatur amicis :
 Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes.
Ep. 42. l. 8.

Praise and description of a little bitch. It is somewhat long, but of exceeding delicacy, and I could wish, for the sake of the ladies, that some able hand would translate it into our language in verse.

Issa est passere nequior Catulli :
 Issa est purior osculo columbæ :
 Issa est blandior omnibus puellis :
 Issa est carior Indicis lapillis :
 Issa est deliciæ catella Publî.
 Hanc tu, si queritur, loqui putabis.
 Sentit tristitiamque gaudiumque.
 Collo nixa cubat, capitque somnos,
 Ut suspiria nulla sentiantur :
 Et desiderio coacta ventris,
 Gutta pallia non fefellit ulla ;
 Sed blando pede suscitât, toroque
 Deponi monet, & rogat levâri.
 Castæ tantus inest pudor catellæ !
 Ignorat Venerem, nec invenimus
 Dignum tam tenera virum puella.
 Hanc ne lux rapiat suprema totam,
 Picta Publius exprimit tabella.
 In qua tam similem videbis Issam,
 Ut sit tam similis sibi nec Issa.
 Issam denique pone cum tabella,
 Aut utramque putabis esse veram,
 Aut utramque putabis esse pictam.

Ep. 109. l. 4.

For the sake of the ladies, as Mr. Rollin recommends it, the Translator has attempted, or rather imitated this little poem in English measure, how unequally the comparison will best explain.

Pretty Issa, which can be
 Of pretty things compared to thee !
 Lesbia's sparrow in its play
 Was not half so arch and gay :
 Issa's kisses sweeter far
 Than the billing turtle's are :
 Issa, fonder than the dove :
 Issa, kind as maids in love :

*India's gems with her compare,
Gems and gold are not so rare :
Cheap are those in Publius' sight ;
Issa is his sole delight.*

*Issa has the art to trace ;
Joy and sadness in a face ;
And such notice seems to take,
Issa, one would think, could speak.
Whilst she sleeps, her neck sustaining,
Not a breath her life explaining,
Should a call of nature take her,
No distresses rude can make her ;
But soft-rising from her place,
Not a drop to her disgrace,
Set me down, she tells you plain,
And now, take me up again.
And so chaste's the little creature,
One would think her not of nature :
Never Venus, and her son
To her spotless breast were known ;
Nor a spouse could we provide
Worthy of the tender bride.*

*Lest death snatch her whole away,
Grief to think ! at her last day,
Publius does her picture take,
Long to keep for Issa's sake :
Issa there as like you see,
As Issa can to Issa be :
Issa by her picture place,
Issa's two with ev'ry grace !
Both painted seem, and both seem true ;
They puzzle me, and so would you !*

SULPITIA.

SULPITIA, a Roman lady, was the wife of Calenus. She wrote a poem upon the expulsion of the philosophers, wherein she highly lashes Domitian, and menaces him with death. It is the only
one

one of a great number of poems composed by her, that is come down to us, and is usually printed at the end of Juvenal's satires. We have reason to regret the loss of the verses she inscribed to her husband upon conjugal love, and the chastity and fidelity to be observed in the married state. Martial gives her great praise in one of his epigrams, of which I shall repeat only some verses.

Omnes Sulpitiam legant puellæ,
 Uni quæ cupiunt viro placere.
 Omnes Sulpitiam legant mariti,
 Uni qui cupiunt placere nuptæ——
 Hac condiscipula, vel hac magistra,
 Effes doctior & pudica Sappho.——

Epist. 35. l. 10.

Imitated.

*You tender brides, whom virtuous love inspires,
 Refine by wise Sulpitia your desires :
 She can the useful science well impart,
 To keep one happy married lover's heart :
 And you, whoe'er desire one bride to charm,
 Yourselves with bright Sulpitia's dictates arm——
 With her conversant, by her lessons taught,
 Her lovely pupils rise, enlarg'd in thought ;
 Chaste and more learned Sappho's they become,
 Their sex's glory, and the pride of Rome.*

NEMESIANUS and CALPURNIUS.

We have some eclogues, and part of a poem upon hunting wrote by *M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus*, who was very famous in his time for his poetical works. We are told that he was a native of Carthage. He inscribes his poem upon hunting to Carinus and Numerianus after their father's death, that is to say in the year 284.

TITUS CALPURNIUS of Sicily, lived in the reigns of Carus, Carinus and Numerianus. He composed

composed seven eclogues, which he inscribed to Nemesianus, a pastoral poet as well as himself. The verses of both these poets have the character of the age in which they were wrote.

PRUDENTIUS.

PRUDENTIUS, (*Aurelius Prudentius Clemens*) a Christian poet, and officer in the court of the emperor Honorius, was born at Saragosa in Spain in the year 348, and died about 412.

He did not begin his poems upon religion till the fifty-seventh year of his age. He had been first an advocate, then a judge, afterwards a soldier, and at last a retainer to the court in an honourable employment. He informs us himself of these circumstances in the prologue of his works.

*Per quinquennia jam decem,
Ni fallor, fuimus : septimus insuper
Annum cardo rotat, dum fruimur sole volubili.*

After having spoken of his youth he mentions his different employments.

*Exin jurgia turbidos
Armarunt animos, & male pertinax
Vincendi studium subjacuit casibus asperis.
Bis legum moderamine
Frænos nobilium reximus urbium :
Jus civile bonis reddidimus, terruimus reos.
Tandem militiæ gradu
Evectum pietas principis extulit,
Adsumptum propius stare jubens ordine proximo.*

The poems of Prudentius come down to us, abound more with zeal for religion than ornaments of art. They are full of false quantities; besides which he is not always orthodox in his notions. We must however confess, that there is abundance of taste and delicacy in many passages of his works:

his

his hymns upon the Innocents are sufficient proofs of this, from which I shall repeat some strophes.

*Salvete flores martyrum,
Quos lucis ipso in limine,
Christi insecutor sustulit,
Ceu turbo nascentes rosas.
Vos prima Christi victima,
Grex immolatorum tener,
Aram sub ipsam simplices
Palma & coronis luditis —
Audit tyrannus anxius
Adesse regum principem,
Qui nomen Israel regat,
Teneatque David regiam.
Exclamat amens nuntio :
Successor instat, pellimur.
Satelles i, ferrum rape,
Perfunde cunas sanguine.
Transfigit ergo carnifex
Mucrone districto furens
Effusa nuper corpora,
Animasque rimatur novas.*

The Augustan age has nothing more animated, nor more delicate, than these strophes.

CLAUDIAN.

CLAUDIAN, (*Claudius*) a Latin poet and a pagan, was a native of Egypt. He lived in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, who caused a statue to be erected in honour of him. He died soon after Arcadius.

He merits the first rank amongst the heroic poets, who appeared after the Augustan age. Of all those, who have endeavoured to follow and imitate Virgil, none come so near the majesty of that poet, and retains less of the corruption of the age he lived in, than him. He every where shews abundance of genius, and that he was born a poet. He was full of that fire, which produces enthusiasm,

enthusiasm. His style is correct, sweet, elegant, and at the same time noble and sublime. He has however too many flights and fallies of youth, and swells too much. He has wit and imagination, but is far from that delicacy of numbers, that natural and exquisite harmony of verse, which the learned admire in Virgil. He rings perpetually the same round of measures, the same cadence, in effect of which one can scarce read him without being tired.

Of the several poems of Claudian, his invectives against Rufinus and Eutropius have been highly esteemed.

A U S O N I U S.

AUSONIUS (*Decius* or rather *Decimus Magnus Ausonius*) was born at Bourdeaux.

At the age of thirty he was chosen professor of grammar, and afterwards of rhetoric. He acquired so great a reputation in the latter employment, that he was sent for to the Imperial court, and made præceptor to Gratian the son of the emperor Valentinian I. He accompanied his pupil An. 367. in that young prince's journey with his father into Germany.

This employment acquired him the highest dignities of the empire. He was made Quæstor by Valentinian. After the death of that prince, Gratian made him *Præfæctus Prætorio*; which office he had twice, first for Italy and Africa, and afterwards for the Gauls. He was at length declared An. 379. consul, at which time Juvenal's maxim was again verified, That when fortune pleases, she makes a consul of a rhetorician.

Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul.

The emperor, in conferring that dignity upon him, forgot nothing, that could exalt the favour by the obliging and generous manner of doing it. To know how to improve gifts and graces thus,
is

Auson. in
Grat. act.

is a science worthy of a prince. He immediately dispatched a courier to Ausonius with advice of his being nominated consul, and wrote to him in these terms. "When I considered some time ago about the creation of consuls for this year, I implored the assistance of God, as you know it is my custom to do in whatever I undertake, and as I know it is your desire that I should. I believed it incumbent on me to nominate you First consul, and that God required that acknowledgment from me of the good instructions I have received from you. I therefore pay you what I owe you, and as I am sensible that we can never sufficiently discharge our obligations to our parents and masters, I confess myself still no less in your debt than I was before."

That nothing might be wanting to the favour he did him, he accompanied this letter with the present of a very rich robe, in which the figure of the emperor Constantius his father-in-law was embroidered in gold. Ausonius, on his side, employed the whole force and delicacy of his genius in praising his august benefactor both in verse and prose. His oration of thanks to the emperor is still extant, and has been highly esteemed. There is a great deal of wit in it, perhaps too much; with fine and solid thoughts; and sprightly turns, but often far-fetched and too much studied. The Latinity of it is hard, and speaks the age in which the author lived. That the reader may have some idea of his style, I shall repeat here the beginning of this speech, which he pronounced before the Emperor.

Ago tibi gratias, Imperator Auguste: si possem, etiam referrem. Sed nec tua fortuna desiderat remunerandi vices, nec nostra suggerit restituendi facultatem. Privatorum ista copia est, inter se esse munificos. Tua beneficia, ut maiestate præcellunt, ita mutuum non reposcunt. Quod solum igitur nostræ
opis

opis est, gratias ago, verum ita, ut apud Deum fieri solet, sentiendo copiosius, quam loquendo; atque non in sacrario modò Imperialis oraculi, qui locus horrore tranquillo & pavore venerabili rarò eundem animum præstat & vultum: Sed usquequaque gratias ago, tum tacens, tum loquens; tum in cœtu hominum, tum ipse mecum; & cùm voce potui, & cùm meditatione secessi; omni loco, actu, habitu, & tempore. Nec mirum, si ego terminum non statuo tam grata profitendi, cùm tu finem facere nescias honorandi. Qui enim locus est, aut dies, qui non me hujus aut similis gratulationis admoneat! Admoneat autem! O inertiam significationis ignavæ! Quis, inquam, locus est, qui non beneficiis tuis agitet, inflammet?

There is an extreme inequality in the works of Ausonius. His style is stiff and hard, as I have already observed, but that stiffness, that roughness is the least fault of his poems. The obscenities with which they abound, forbid the reading of them to every body, that has not renounced all shame.

ST. PAULINUS.

St. PAULINUS, Bishop of Nola, was born at Bourdeaux about the year 353. The celebrated Ausonius, of whom I spoke last, was his master in profane learning. St. Paulinus declares more than once that he was indebted for every thing to Ausonius, whom he calls his patron, master, father, and to whom he acknowledges himself indebted for the progress he had made in learning, and his elevation to offices and dignities.

*Tibi disciplinas, dignitatem, litteras,
Lingvæ, & togæ, & famæ decus,
Proveetus, altus, institutus debeo,
Patrone, præceptor, parens. Carm. 10.*

He made a great progress under such a master. Ausonius congratulates him upon it in several of his poems, and owns, which is no small thing for

a poet to allow, that his disciple carries the bays by his verses against him.

*Cedimus ingenio, quantum præcedimus ævo.
Assurgit Musæ nostra Camæna tuæ.*

Auson. Epist. 20.

Id. Epist.
24 and 25.

The retirement of St. Paulinus, who went into Spain to hide himself in solitude, drew upon him violent reproaches from Ausonius. That worldly man wrote him many letters to complain of his injurious state of oblivion, in which he flies out against his Tanaquil; by which odious name he means his wife Therasia, to whom he imputes that change. He accused his disciple of having lost his former good nature, and of being become morose, and an hater of mankind. He ascribes to him in terms sufficiently express a mind perverted by spleen and melancholy, that induced him to fly the society and commerce of men: the reproach usually made by persons of the world to those who quit it.

Divine providence prevented him from receiving any of these letters, till he was strong enough to resist the snares, which the devil laid for him by the hand of a late esteemed, and much beloved master. At the end of four years, he received three of them, which he answered by several on his side.

After having explained the reason of his long silence, he excuses himself from resuming the study of profane poetry, which did not suit a person like him, who had devoted his thoughts solely to God.

*Quid abdicatas, in meam curam, pater,
Redire Musas præcipis?*

*Negant Camænis, nec patent Apollini
Dicata Christo pectora.*

He says that he is now no longer to invoke Apollo and the muses, divinities impotent and deaf;

deaf; that a God more powerful has taken possession of his mind, and requires other sentiments and a different language from him,

*Nunc alia mentem vis agit, major Deus,
Aliosque mores postulat.*

He afterwards describes the wonderful change operated by grace in the heart of man, when it has seized it by right of conquest, and has entirely subjected it to itself, in making it by a chaste and pure joy lose all taste for its former pleasures and worldly delights; in extinguishing all the pains and disquiet of the present life by a lively faith and hope of future happiness; and in leaving it no other care, than to employ itself with its God; in contemplating his wonderful works, in studying his holy will, and endeavouring with all the powers of the soul to render him an homage worthy of him by an undivided love that knows no bounds.

*Hic ergo nostra ut suum præcordiis
Vibraverit cælo jubar,
Abstergit ægrum corporis pigri situm
Habitumque mentis innovat.
Exhaurit omne quod juvabat antea,
Castæ voluptatis vice.
Totoque nostra jure domini vindicat
Et corda, & ora, & tempora.
Se cogitari, intelligi, credi, legi,
Se vult timeri & diligere.
Æstus inanes, quos movet vitæ labor
Præsentis ævi tramite,
Abolet futuræ cum Deo vitæ fides, &c.*

To all this he adds a strong protestation never to be wanting to what his obligations to Ausonius required of him.

The praises, which Ausonius gives St. Paulinus in many places, seems rather to regard the poems

he composed before his renouncing the profane muses, than those he wrote after. For, after so uncommon and generous an abdication, he studied to extinguish the greatest part of his fire; and having stifled in himself all desire of worldly reputation, he checked and neglected his wit and style, and confined himself within the bounds of a simplicity averse to all pride, and such as the Christian modesty requires. He carried this departure from the poet so far, as to disregard even the rules of prosody. But with all the air of negligence, that appears no less in his versification than even in the style in general of his poems, we always find certain natural charms and beauties, which makes us love the author and his works.

ST. PROSPER.

ST. PROSPER was of Aquitaine. He was married and a layman, and Secretary of the Briefs to St. Leo the Pope.

Besides several other little pieces, which are dubious, we have a considerable poem of St. Prosper's against the ungrateful, that is to say against the enemies of the grace of Jesus Christ, wherein as a profound theologist, he explains the doctrine of the Church against the Pelagians and Semipelagians.

Mr. Godeau, after many other authors, judges this work an abridgement of all St. Augustin's books upon this subject, and particularly of those which he wrote against Julian. He adds, that the expressions are wonderful, and that, in many places, there is reason to be amazed how it was possible for this Saint to unite the beauty of versification with the severity of his subject. What is besides surprizing in this poem, is to see the exact regularity, with which the maxims of the faith are observed in it, notwithstanding the constraint of verse,

verse, and the freedom of the poetic spirit; and that the truths of religion are neither altered nor weakened by the ornaments of poetry. This poem has been translated into French verse. I shall give the preface of it a place here, which will shew both the subject of this excellent work, and the style of its author.

PRÆFATIO.

Unde voluntatis sanctæ subsistat origo,
 Unde animis pietas insit, & unde fides :
 Adversum ingratos, falsa & virtute superbos,
 Centenis decies versibus excolui.
 Quos si tranquilla studeas cognoscere cura,
 Tutus ab adverso turbine, Lector, eris.
 Nec libertate arbitrii rapiere rebellis,
 Ulla nec audebis dona negare Dei.
 Sed bona quæ tibi sunt, operante fatebere Christo,
 Non esse ex merito sumpta, sed ad meritum.

French Translation.

*Ma plume en mille Vers combattant pour la Grace,
 Apour Dieu combattu,
 Attaquant ces Ingrats pleins de la vaine audace
 D'une fausse vertu.
 J'ai fait voir d'où nos cœurs conçoivent la racine
 D'un céleste dessein,
 D'où la foi naît dans nous, d'où la vertu divine
 Germe dans notre sein.
 Si donc ton esprit calme, en lisant cet ouvrage,
 N'y cherche que du fruit,
 Ces Vers te sauveront du funeste naufrage
 Où l'erreur nous conduit.
 Tu n'eleveras point contre ton Roi suprême
 Ta fière liberté,
 Et tu ne croiras point mériter par toi-même
 Les dons de sa bonté.*

*Mais tu reconnoitras que tu dois toute chose
 Au Dieu qui t'est si doux ;
 Et que notre mérite est l'effet, non la cause
 De sa Grace dans nous.*

The same in English.

Whence holiness of will derives its birth,
 Whence piety, and faith, illumine earth,
 'Gainst men Ungrateful, of false virtue vain,
 I sing : a thousand verses form the strain.
 If, reader, to such knowledge you aspire,
 Search here, and gratify thy good desire.
 From frantic error safe, the growth of pride,
 These, if you study well, will be your guide :
 Nor wilt thou dare against the God of Grace
 Rebellious human liberty to place :
 Nor wilt thou any of his gifts disown ;
 Nor think you merit, but by Him alone :
 Whate'er is good in thee, thou here wilt trace,
 Not as the cause, but the effect, of Grace.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS.

C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius was born at Lyons. His father was *præfectus prætorio*, and son-in-law of the emperor Avitus.

We have twenty-four of his poems, which are usually printed with the nine books of his epistles. The age in which he lived is an excuse for the hardness and obscurity of his style, and the false quantities of his verses.

He renounced poetry with secular things, and composed no verses after he was made bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, which happened in the year 472.

AVIENUS.

RUFUS FESTUS AVIENUS lived in the reign of Theodosius the elder. This author translated the
Phæno-

Phænomena of Aratus, and the *Περὶ γῆς* of Dionysius, that is to say, his description of the earth, into Latin verse. He had also turned all Livy into Iambics: a work useleſs enough, and of which the loſs is only to be regretted, *as it contained the ſubſtance of that excellent hiſtorian's matter not come down to us*. There are fables of his extant, which he made into elegiac verſe from *Æſop*, and dedicated to Theodoſius, who is in reality Macrobius: they are infinitely remote from the purity, beauty, and elegance of Phædrus.

BOETIUS.

BOETIUS (*Anicius Manlius Severinus Boetius*) was ſole conſul in the year 510.

What verſes this great man made, are inſerted in his five books *De conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, which he compoſed in the priſon, where Theodoric king of the Goths, whoſe prime miniſter he was, confined him. His proſe, which is not the moſt excellent, ſeemed to have contributed like ſhades in painting, to exalt the beauties of his poetry, that abounds with grave ſentences and fine thoughts.

FORTUNATUS.

FORTUNATUS was born in the marquifate of Treviſano. He was made biſhop of Poitiers, and died about the beginning of the ſeventh century.

He is one of the moſt conſiderable of the antient Chriſtian poets. We have eleven books of his miſcellaneous poems in Lyric and elegiac verſe; and four of the life of St. Martin in Hexameters. The merit of his verſes is to be judged from the age in which he lived.

CHAPTER II.

OF HISTORIANS.

HISTORY has with reason been called the evidence of time, the light of truth, the school of virtue, the depository of events, and, if the expression may be allowed, the faithful messenger of antiquity. And indeed it opens to our view the vast series of all past ages, and brings them in a manner down to our own times. It makes conquerors, heroes, princes, and all other great personages, appear before us; but without the pompous train which attended them during their lives, and reduced to their own persons, in order to render an account of their actions at the tribunal of posterity, and submit to a judgment, in which flattery has no longer any part, because they have no longer any power.

History has also the privilege of approaching the thrones of the princes that reign, and is almost the only counsellor, who either can or dare impart truth to them, and even shew them their faults if they have any, but under foreign names, to spare their delicacy, and to render its advice useful by avoiding to give them offence. It is no less intent upon the instruction of private persons. It sets before all in general, of whatsoever age or condition they be, both the models of virtue they are to follow, and the examples they ought to shun.

It is easy to conceive, that history, whilst artless and rude in its infancy, was not capable of rendering these important services to mankind. It contented itself at first with preserving the remembrance of events, by carving them upon stone and brass, in fixing them by inscriptions, by inserting them into public registers, and by consecrating them

them in some measure in hymns and songs of religion. It rose by degrees, till at length it attained that height of perfection, to which the Greek and Latin writers carried it.

I shall say nothing of the history of the people of God, composed by Moses, the most antient and venerable of all histories: neither shall I speak of several historians, whose names only, or at most some small fragments of their writings, have come down to us. I shall confine myself here to the Greek and Latin historians, whose works, either in the whole or in part, are still extant. As I have taken care to quote them exactly in my Antient History, and they are my authorities for what I advance there, it seemed necessary, that such of my readers as have not been conversant with them, should have some small knowledge of them, and know at least the times in which they lived, the principal circumstances of their lives, the works they composed, and the judgment passed on them by the Learned.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Greek Historians.

SECT. I.

HERODOTUS.

HERODOTUS was of Halicarnassus, a A. M.
 city of Caria. He was born the same year ^{3520.}
 Artemisa queen of Caria died, and four years be- ^{Ant. J. C.}
 fore the descent of Xerxes upon Greece. Seeing ⁴⁸⁴⁻
 his country oppressed by the tyranny of Lygdamis, ^{Suidas.}
 Artemisa's grandson, he quitted it, and retired in-
 to the isle of Samos, where he learnt the Ionic
 dialect perfectly.

It was in this dialect he composed his history in nine books. He begins it at Cyrus, according to him first king of Persia, and continues it to the battle of Mycale, fought in the eighth year of Xerxes, which includes an hundred and twenty years under four kings of Persia, Cyrus, Cambyfes, Darius, and Xerxes, from the year of the world 3405 to 3524. Besides the history of the Greeks and Persians, which are his principal subjects, he treats that of several other nations, as the Egyptians, which takes up his second book. In the work of his which we have, he cites his histories of the Assyrians and Arabians; but nothing of them is come down to us, and it is even doubted whether he finished them, because they are not mentioned by any author. The life of Homer, ascribed to Herodotus, is not believed to be his.

Lib. I.
c. 184.

Suidas.

Herodotus, in order to make himself known to all Greece at one and the same time, chose to make his appearance when it was assembled at the Olympic games, and read his history there, which was received with exceeding applauses. The style in which it is wrote seemed so sweet and flowing, that the audience thought they heard the muses themselves; and that from thenceforth occasioned the names of the muses to be given to the nine books of which it consists.

It appears, that he gave a particular reading of his work to the city of Athens, which well deserved that distinction: this was at the celebrated feast of the *Panathenæa*. It is easy to judge how highly an history, composed with so much art and eloquence, must have pleased such refined and delicate ears, and wits so curious, and of so exquisite a taste, as those of the Athenians.

Marcellin.
de vit.
Thucyd.
Suidas.

It is believed to have been rather at this assembly, than the Olympic games, that Thucydides, then very young, perhaps about fifteen, was so much affected with the beauty of this history, that

he was seized with a kind of transport and enthusiasm, and shed tears of joy in abundance. Herodotus perceived it, and complimented Olorus, the father of the youth, upon that occasion; exhorting him in the strongest terms to take particular care of a son, who already shewed so extraordinary a taste for polite learning, and who might one day be the honour of Greece. Great persons cannot be too attentive in encouraging young men by just praises, in whom they observe fine talents, and generous inclinations. It is perhaps to these few words of Herodotus, that the world is indebted for the admirable history of Thucydides.

I have said, that Thucydides might be about fifteen when he was present at the reading of Herodotus's history at Athens. Suidas says, that he was then only a child, or rather very young, ἔτι πᾶσις. As he was born but thirteen years after Herodotus, the latter himself in consequence could not at that time be above twenty-eight, which highly adds to the merit of that author, who at that age had composed so valuable a work.

Herodotus, crowned with glory, thought of returning into his own country; whither the heart always recalls us. When he arrived there, he exhorted the people to expel the tyrant that oppressed them, and to reinstate themselves in the possession of their liberty, dearer to the Greeks than life itself. His remonstrances had all the success that could be expected, but met with no other reward than ingratitude, through the envy so glorious and successful an enterprise drew upon him. He was obliged to quit an ungrateful country, and thought proper to take the advantage of an opportunity that offered itself very favourably. The Athenians were at this time sending a colony to Thurium, in that part of Italy called Græcia major, to inhabit and repeople that city. He joined this colony, and went with it to settle at Thurium, where
he

he ended his days. Thurium was the antient Sybaris, or at least that city was built in the neighbourhood of Sybaris, and the remaining people of that antient place, ruined by the Crotoniataë, were settled there.

I defer speaking of the judgment to be passed on Herodotus, till I have gone through the article of Thucydides, in order to compare them with each other.

SECT. II. THUCYDIDES.

THE birth of Thucydides is dated in the 77th Olympiad, thirteen years after that of Herodotus.

A. M.

3533.

Ant. J. C.

471.

Marcellin.

de vit.

Thucyd.

Suidas.

His father was Olorus (so called from a king of Thrace) and his mother Hegesipyle. One of his ancestors was the antient Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, the founder of the kingdom of the Thracian Chersonesus, who having retired into Thrace by the consent of Pisistratus, there married Hegesipyle the daughter of Olorus king of Thrace, whose daughter of the same name was very probably the mother of our historian.

He studied rhetoric under Antiphon, and philosophy under Anaxagoras. He speaks of the first in his viiith book, and says that he was for abolishing the popular government, and establishing that of the Four Hundred at Athens.

Thucyd.

1.8. p.592.

A. M.

3548.

Ant. J. C.

456.

We have already said, that at the age of fifteen he had heard Herodotus's history read with extreme pleasure, either at Olympia, or Athens.

As he had a violent inclination for study, he had no thoughts of concerning himself in the administration of the public affairs; and only took care to form himself in the military exercises that suited a young man of his birth. He was employed in the army, and made some campaigns.

At

At twenty-seven he was joined in commission for A. M.
conducting and settling a new colony of Athenians ^{3560.}
at Thurium. He passed three or four years in that Ant. J. C.
employment, after which he returned to Athens. ^{444.}

He then married a very rich wife of Thrace, who had a great number of mines in that country. By this marriage his circumstances were very easy, and supplied him with the means of expending considerable sums. We shall soon see the good use he made of this advantage.

In the mean time the Peloponnesian war broke A. M.
out, and occasioned great revolutions and troubles ^{3573.}
in Greece. Thucydides, who foresaw that it would Ant. J. C.
be of long duration, and attended with important ^{431.}
events, formed from the first the design of writing Thucyd.
the history of it. It was necessary for this purpose l. 5. p. 561.
to have the most faithful and certain accounts, and to be informed to the most minute circumstances of all that passed on both sides in every expedition and campaign. And this he effected in an admirable manner that has few examples.

As he served in the troops of Athens, he was A. M.
an eye-witness of what passed in the army of the ^{3580.}
Athenians, till the eighth year of that war, that is Ant. J. C.
to say, till the time of his banishment, of which ^{424.}
this was the occasion. He had been commanded Thucyd.
to go to the relief of Amphipolis upon the frontiers of Thrace, a place of great importance l. 4. p. 321.
to both parties. Brasidas, general of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither first, and took the place. Thucydides on his side took Eione upon the river Strymon. This advantage, which was inconsiderable to Athens in comparison with the loss of Amphipolis, was looked upon as nothing. His having failed of relieving Amphipolis thro' want of expedition, was made a crime, and the people, at the instigation of Cleon, punished his pretended fault by sentence of banishment.

Thucydides made his disgrace conduce to the preparation and execution of the great design he had formed of composing the history of this war. He employed the whole time of his banishment, which continued twenty years, in collecting his materials with more diligence than ever. His residing from thenceforth sometimes in the country of Sparta, and sometimes in that of Athens, extremely facilitated the enquiries he had to make. He spared no expence for that purpose, and made great presents to the officers on both sides, in order to his being informed of all that passed in the two armies. He had taken the same method whilst in the service.

A. M.

3601.

Ant. J. C.

403.

The Athenians, after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants by Thrasybulus, permitted all the exiles to return, except the Pisistratides. Thucydides took the benefit of this decree, and returned to Athens after a banishment of twenty years, at the age of sixty-eight. It was not till then, according to Mr. Dodwell, that Thucydides actually applied himself to the composition of his history, of which he had hitherto been collecting and disposing the materials with incredible care. His subject, as I have already observed, was the famous Peloponnesian war, which continued twenty-seven years. He carried it down no farther than the twenty-first inclusively. The six years which remained were supplied by Theopompus and Xenophon. He used the Attic dialect in his history, as the purest, and most elegant, and at the same time the most nervous and emphatical: besides which it was the idiom of Athens his country. He tells us himself, that in writing it, his view was not to please, but to instruct his readers. For which reason he does not call his history a work composed for ostentation, ἀγάνιστος, but a monument to endure for ever, κτήνημα ἐς αἰῶν. He divides it regularly by years and

Thucyd.

l. i. p. 15
and 16.

and campaigns. There is a French translation of this excellent historian by Mr. D'Ablancourt.

Thucydides is believed to have lived thirteen years after his return from banishment, and the end of the Peloponnesian war. He died at the age of fourscore and upwards, at Athens according to some, and in Thrace according to others, from whence his bones were brought to Athens. Plutarch says, that the tomb of Thucydides was shewn in his time within the monument of Cimon's family.

A. M.

3613.

Ant. J. C.

391.

In vit.

Cim.

P. 480.

Comparison of Herodotus and Thucydides.

DIONYSIUS of HALICARNASSUS, an excellent historian and critic, in a letter to Pompey the Great, compares Herodotus and Thucydides, the two most esteemed of the Greek historians, and expresses his judgment of them, as well in respect to history itself, as the style they use. I shall repeat in this place the principal strokes of this short dissertation : but we must remember that our critic is of Halicarnassus as well as Herodotus, which may perhaps give room to suspect him of some partiality to his countryman.

I. Matter of History considered.

The first duty of an author, who intends to compose an history, and to transmit the knowledge and remembrance of past actions to posterity, is, in my opinion, to make choice of a subject great, noble and affecting ; which by the variety and importance of facts, may render the reader attentive, and keep him always in a kind of busy suspense ; and lastly, engross and please him by the nature itself of the events, and the good success that terminates them.

Herodotus may indisputably in this point be said to take place of Thucydides. Nothing could be

be more agreeable and affecting than the subject chosen by the former. It is all Greece, jealous to the degree every body knows she was of her liberty, attacked by the most formidable power of the universe, which, with innumerable forces by sea and land, undertakes to crush and reduce her into slavery. It is nothing but victories upon victories, as well by sea as land, gained over the Persians by the Greeks, who, without mentioning the moral virtues carried to the highest degree of perfection, shew all the valour, prudence, and military abilities, that can be expected from the greatest of captains. In fine this war, so long and terrible, in which all Asia, departing out of herself and overflowing like a deluge, seems to make the total destruction of the little country of Greece inevitable, terminates with the shameful flight of Xerxes the most powerful king of the earth, who is reduced to escape in a little boat, and with a success, that extinguishes for ever in the Persians all thoughts and desires of attacking Greece again with open force.

We see nothing of this kind in the choice Thucydides has made of his subject. He confines himself to a single war, which is neither just in its principle, very various in its events, nor glorious to the Athenians in its success. It is Greece become frantic and possessed with the spirit of discord, that embrews her hands in her own blood, arming Greeks against Greeks, allies against allies. Thucydides himself, from the beginning of his history, declares and gives his reader a view of all the evils, with which that unfortunate war would be attended; slaughter of men, plundering of cities, earthquakes, droughts, famine, diseases, plagues, pestilence, in a word, the most dreadful calamities. What a beginning, what a prospect, is this! Is there any thing more capable of disgusting and shocking the reader?

Such is the first reflection of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which, in my opinion, does not at all affect the merit of the writer. The choice of the matter, and the glorious success of a war, do not depend upon an author cotemporary with his subject, who is not master of his events, and who neither can nor ought to write any thing but what happens. He is unfortunate in being the witness of none but deplorable facts, but not the less excellent for that reason ; which is at most a reproach, that will lie only against a Tragic or Epic poet, who disposes his matter at his own discretion. But as to an author, who writes the history of his own times, we have no right to require any thing of him, but that he should be true, judicious, and impartial. Is the sole end of history to delight the reader ? Ought it not rather to instruct him : and are not the great calamities, which are the necessary effects of bad passions and injustice, highly useful for teaching mankind to avoid them ?

In the second place, it is very important for a writer to make a good choice of his point of view, in order to know where he is to begin, and how far carry on, his history. And in this Herodotus has succeeded wonderfully. He begins with relating the cause of the war declared by the Persians against Greece, which is the desire to revenge an injury * received above two hundred years before, and he concludes the relation of it with the exemplary punishment of the Barbarians. The taking of Troy could at most be only the pretext of this war, and what a pretext was it ! The real cause was undoubtedly the ambition of the kings of Persia, and the desire of avenging themselves upon the Greeks for the aid they gave the Ionians. As for Thucydides, he begins his history with describing the unhappy situation of the affairs of the Greeks

* *The destruction of Troy by the Greeks, which city was in alliance with Persia.*

at that time ; a first prospect little agreeable and affecting. He expressly imputes the cause of this war to the city of Athens ; though he might have ascribed it to the envy of Sparta, its rival from the time of the glorious exploits by which the Athenians had so highly distinguished themselves in the war with the Persians.

This second reflection of our critic seems still worse founded than the first. Thucydides might have advanced this pretext, but I don't know whether he could have done it with truth and justice : or rather one may positively affirm, that he could not advance it with any face of reason whatsoever. It is certain, if we may believe Plutarch, that the cause of the war ought to be imputed to the unbounded ambition of the Athenians, who affected universal dominion. It is noble in Thucydides, to have sacrificed the glory of his country to the love of truth : a quality in which the most essential merit and highest praise of an historian consist.

Thirdly, Herodotus, who knew that a long relation of the same matter, how agreeable soever it might be, would disgust, and become tedious to the reader, has varied his work, after the manner of Homer, by episodes and digressions, which add much to its beauty and the reader's pleasure. Thucydides, on the contrary, is always uniform and in the same tone, and pursues his subject without giving himself time to take breath ; heaping up battles upon battles, preparations upon preparations, harangues upon harangues ; parcelling out, to use that expression, actions by campaigns, which might have been shewn in all their extent with more grace and perspicuity.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis seems here not to have had sufficient attention to the laws of history, and to have almost believed, that an historian might be judged of in the same manner as a poet. Many people blame Herodotus for his long and frequent

frequent digressions, as a considerable defect in point of history. I am far from agreeing with this opinion. They must have been very agreeable to the Greeks, at a time when the history of those different nations, of which they treat, was entirely unknown to them. But I am still farther from blaming the plan and conduct of Thucydides, who hardly ever loses sight of his subject : for this is one of the principal rules of history, from which a writer ought never to depart without the justest reasons.

Fourthly, Thucydides, religiously attached to truth, which ought to be the foundation of history, and which is certainly the first and most essential quality of an historian, inserts nothing of fabulous in his work, has no regard to embellishing and enlivening it by relating facts and events of the marvellous kind, and does not, upon every occasion, introduce the gods and goddesses, acting by dreams, oracles and prodigies. In this he is indisputably superior to Herodotus, who is little delicate and cautious in respect to many facts which he advances, and is generally credulous even to weakness and superstition.

Fifthly, If we may believe Dionysius of Halicarnassus, there is in the writings of Thucydides a gloominess of character, and a natural roughness of humour, which his banishment had sharpened and exasperated. He is most exact in noting all the faults, and wrong measures, of the generals ; and if he sometimes remarks their good qualities and successes, for he often passes them over in silence, he seems to do it with regret and against his will.

I do not know whether this censure be well founded ; but my reading of Thucydides gave me no such idea of him. I perceived indeed that his matter was sad and gloomy, but not the historian. Dionysius of Halicarnassus discerns a quite differ-

ferent temper in Herodotus, that is to say, a character of kindness and good nature always equal to itself, with an extreme sensibility for the good and bad fortune of his country.

2. *Elocution considered.*

Several things may be considered in respect to elocution.

Purity, propriety, and elegance of language. These qualities are common to both our historians, who equally excelled in them, but always in adhering to the noble simplicity of nature. * It is remarkable, says Cicero, that these two authors, who were cotemporary with the sophists, that had introduced a florid, trim, formal, artificial style, and whom Socrates for that reason called λογοδαιδάλας, never gave into those minute or rather frivolous ornaments.

Diffusion or brevity of style. These particularly distinguish and characterize them. The style of Herodotus is sweet, flowing, and more diffuse; that of Thucydides lively, concise, and vehement. “ The one, to use Cicero’s words, is “ like a calm stream, whose waves flow with “ majesty; the other like an impetuous torrent; “ and when he speaks of war we seem to hear the “ trumpet sound. *Alter sine ullis salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit: alter incitator fertur, & de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodammodo bellicum.* “ Thucydides is so full of things, that with him the “ thoughts are almost equal in number to the “ words; and at the same time he is so just and “ close in his expressions, that one cannot tell whe-

Orat.
n. 39.

* Sophistas λογοδαιδάλας appellat in Phædro Socrates— quorum satis arguta multa, sed minuta quædam—nimiumque depicta. Quo magis sunt Herodotus Thucydidesque mi-

rabiles: quorum ætas cum in eorum tempora, quos nominamus, incidisset, longissime tamen ipsi à talibus deliciis, vel potius ineptiis abfuerunt. Cic. in Orat. n. 39.

“ ther

“ther it be the words that adorn the thoughts, or
 “the thoughts the words.” *Qui (Thucydides) ita* Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 56.
creber est rerum frequentia, ut verborum propè numero
sententiarum numero consequatur : ita porro ver-
bis aptus & pressus, ut nescias utrum res oratione, an
verba sententiis illustrentur. This close, and in a
 manner abrupt, style is wonderfully proper for
 giving strength and energy to discourse, but is ge-
 nerally attended with abundance of obscurity. And
 this is what has happened to Thucydides, espe-
 cially in his harangues, which in many places are
 almost unintelligible. *Ipse illæ conciones ita multas* Orat. n. 30.
habent obscuras abditasque sententias, vix ut intelli-
gantur : So that the reading of this author requires
 an uninterrupted attention, and becomes a serious
 study. For the rest it is not surprizing that Thu-
 cydides, as he alludes in his harangues to many
 circumstances well known in his time, and forgot
 afterwards, should have obscurities in the sense of
 readers so many ages removed from those events.
 But that is not the principal cause of them.

What has been said, shews what we are to think
 of our two historians in respect to the passions,
 which as, every body knows prevail in, and con-
 stitute the principal merit of, Eloquence. Hero-
 dotus succeeds in those, which require sweetness
 and insinuation, and Thucydides in the strong and
 vehement passions:

Both have harangues, but they are less frequent
 and shorter in the first. Dionysius of Halicar-
 nassus finds a defect in those of Thucydides, which
 is, that they are always in one and the same form
 and tone, and that the characters of the speakers
 are ill sustained in them; whereas Herodotus is
 much happier in those respects. Some persons
 blame harangues in history in general, and espe-
 cially the direct. I have answered this objection Vol. XI.
 elsewhere.

Quintil. I. 10. c. 1. I shall conclude this article, which is become longer than I intended, with the elegant and judicious character Quintilian has drawn of our two authors, in which he includes part of what has hitherto been said. *Historiam multi scripsere, sed nemo dubitat duos longe ceteris præferendos, quorum diversa virtus laudem pene est parem consecuta. Densus, & brevis, & semper instans sibi Thucydides: dulcis, & candidus, & fusus Herodotus. Ille concitatis, hic remissis affectibus melior: ille concionibus, hic sermonibus: ille vi, hic voluptate.* “Greece has produced many famous historians; but all agree in giving the preference greatly to two of them, who by different qualities have acquired almost equal glory. Thucydides is close, concise, and always * hastening on to the point in view: Herodotus is sweet, perspicuous, and more diffused. The one is best for the vehement passions, the other for the soft and agreeable. The one succeeds in harangues, the other in common discourse. Force strikes us in the one, and pleasure charms us in the other.” What, in my opinion, highly exalts the merit of Herodotus and Thucydides, is that both of them, with few models they could follow, carried history to its perfection by a different method.

The general esteem of the antients for these two authors is a circumstance highly in their favour. So many great men could hardly be mistaken in their judgment of them.

SECT. III.

XENOPHON.

I Have elsewhere treated with sufficient extent all that relates to the life and works of Xenophon. I shall only say some few words of them

* *Instans sibi* is hard to render: it means always pressing forward, hastening on to the end, tending perpetually to it, without either losing sight of it, deviating, or amusing himself in the least,

here, to recal the reader's remembrance of them, and their dates.

Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, was born at Athens in the third year of the 82d Olympiad. He was something more than twenty years younger than Thucydides; and was a great philosopher, historian, and general.

He engaged himself in the troops of young Cyrus, who marched against his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Persia, in order to dethrone him. This occasioned his banishment, the Athenians being at that time in amity with Artaxerxes. The retreat of the Ten Thousand under the conduct of Xenophon is known to every body, and has immortalized his fame.

After his return, he was employed in the troops of Sparta, at first in Thrace, and afterwards in Asia, till Agesilaus was recalled, whom he accompanied as far as Bœotia. He then retired to Scyllonta, where the Lacedæmonians had given him lands, situate at no great distance from the city of Elis.

He was not idle in his retirement. He took advantage of the leisure it afforded him to compose his histories. He began with the *Cyropædia*, which is the history of Cyrus the great in eight books. It was followed with that of Cyrus the younger, which includes the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand, in seven books. He then wrote the Grecian history in seven books also, that begins where Thucydides left off. It contains the space of almost forty-eight years, from the return of Alcibiades into Attica, to the battle of Mantinæa. He also composed several particular tracts upon historical subjects.

His style, under an air of simplicity and natural sweetness, conceals inimitable graces, that persons of little delicacy of taste perceive and admire less, but which did not escape Cicero, and which

Orat. n.
62.

made him say, “ That the muses seemed to speak
“ by the mouth of Xenophon :” *Xenophontis voce
musas quasi locutas ferunt.*

Lib. 10.
c. 1.

Quintilian, in the praise he has left us of this
author, has done little more than paraphrase that
thought. *Quid ego commemorem Xenophontis jucun-*
ditatem illam in affectatam, sed quam nulla possit af-
fectatio consequi? ut ipsæ finxisse sermonem Gratiae
videantur: Et, quod de Pericle veteris Comædiæ testi-
monium est, in hunc transferri justissimè possit, in la-
bris ejus sedisse quandam persuadendi deam. “ What
“ praises does not the charming sweetness of Xe-
“ nophon deserve? so simple, so remote from
“ all affectation, but which no affectation can ever
“ attain. The Graces themselves seem to have
“ composed his discourse; and what the antient
“ comedy said of Pericles, may most justly be ap-
“ plied to him, that the goddess of persuasion
“ dwelt upon his lips.”

S E C T. IV.

C T E S I A S.

CTESIAS of Cnidos was Xenophon's co-
temporary. He was taken prisoner after the
battle of young Cyrus with his brother Artaxerxes.
Having cured the king of the wound he received in it,
he practised physic in the court of Persia with great
success, and continued near the person of that prince
seventeen years.

Photius.

He wrote the history of the Assyrians and Per-
sians in twenty-three books. One of the fragments
preserved by Photius, (for we have nothing of
Ctesias but fragments) informs us, that his six
first books treated of the history of Assyria, and of
all that had happened there before the foundation
of the Persian empire: and that from the seventh
to the thirteenth inclusively, he related at large the
reigns

reigns of Cyrus, Cambyfes, Magus, Darius, and Xerxes. He continued the history of the Persians Diod. l. 14. p. 273. down to the third year of the 95th Olympiad, at which time Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, was making great preparations of war against the Carthaginians.

He contradicts Herodotus almost in every thing, Photius. and is particularly industrious to falsify him. But his attempt has fallen upon himself, and he is regarded by all the learned as a writer full of lies and ἐκ ἀγέλης unworthy of belief, as Aristotle calls him. He ἐστ. also differed very often with Xenophon in his accounts. It is surprizing, that Diodorus Siculus, Trogus Pompeius, and some others, have chosen to follow Ctesias rather than Herodotus, and even than Xenophon. They were no doubt deceived by the assurance, with which he affirms, that he advanced nothing in his writings, of which he was not either an eye-witness himself, had been informed by the Persians concerned, or had extracted out of their archives.

S E C T V.

P O L Y B I U S.

I Have already spoken of this celebrated historian in several parts of my history, which I shall content myself with observing, and shall only add in this place what seems most necessary for giving the reader some idea of the character, actions, and works of this great man. His life, of sufficient extent and very well wrote, may be found in the front of the Chevalier Folard's translation of Polybius, of which I shall make great use, but not without abridging it considerably.

Polybius was of Megalopolis, a city of Peloponnesus in Arcadia. He came into the world A. M. 3800. about the 548th year from the foundation of Rome. Ant. J. C. His 204.

His father's name was Lycortas, famous for his constancy in supporting the interests of the Achæan league, whilst under his government.

He was educated, like all the children of his nation, in the highest veneration for the Divinity : a pious opinion, in which the Arcadians placed their principal glory, and in which he persevered with so much constancy during his whole life, that few profane authors have thought more religiously, or spoke with more dignity, of the Godhead than him.

Lycortas his father, a profound statesman, was his master in politics ; as Philopæmen, one of the greatest and most intrepid captains of the antient world, was in war. He reduced to practice the excellent lessons they had taught him in the different negotiations and affairs, wherein he was employed either jointly with his father or alone, especially during the war of the Romans with Perseus the last king of Macedonia, as I have observed in its place.

A. M.
3837.
Ant. J. C.
167.

The Romans, after the defeat of that prince, in order to humble and punish such of the Achæans, as had been most warm in supporting the Achæan league, and had seemed most averse to their views and interests, carried away a thousand of them to Rome : of which number was Polybius.

During his stay there, whether his reputation had reached thither before him, or his birth and merit had made the greatest persons of Rome desire his acquaintance, he soon acquired the friendship of Q. Fabius, and of Scipio the younger, both sons of Paulus Æmilius, the one adopted by Q. Fabius, and the other by P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the first Scipio Africanus. He either lent them his own, or borrowed books for them of others, and conversed with them upon the subjects of which they treated. Charmed equally with his great qualities, they prevailed with the prætor, that he

he should not leave Rome with the rest of the Achæans. What passed at that time between young Scipio, who was but eighteen, and Polybius, and which made way for the great intimacy they afterwards contracted, is, in my opinion, a most affecting piece of history, and may be of great instruction to young nobility. I have related this circumstance at the end of the history of the Carthaginians.

It is evident that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at least collected his materials for it, at Rome. For where could he be better informed of the events which had passed, either during the whole course of the second Punic war, than in the house of the Scipios; or during the campaigns against Perseus, than in that of Paulus Æmilius? The same may be said in respect to all the foreign affairs, which occurred either whilst he was at Rome, or accompanied Scipio. As he was upon the spot either to see with his own eyes, or to receive news from the best hand, he could not fail of being exactly informed of every thing most memorable that happened.

The Achæans, after many fruitless applications to the senate, at length obtained the return of their exiles: their number was then reduced to three hundred. Polybius did not use this permission to go home to Megalopolis, or if he did, it was not long before he rejoined Scipio, as he was with him three years after at the siege of Carthage. After this expedition, he made some voyages upon account of the history he had always in view. But how great was his grief, when in returning into Peloponnesus he saw Corinth burnt and demolished, his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and obliged to submit to the laws of a foreign magistrate to be sent thither every year from Rome. If any thing could console him in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity

A. M.

3854.

Ant. J. C.

150.

nity his credit with the Romans gave him of obtaining some mitigations of the misfortunes of his country, and the occasion he had of defending the memory of Philopæmen, his master in the art of war, whose statues some were for pulling down. I have related this fact.

After having rendered his country many services, he returned to Scipio at Rome, from whence he followed him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio died he retired into Greece; (for what security could there be for Polybius at Rome, after Scipio had been put to death by the faction of the Gracchi?) and having enjoyed during six years in the bosom of his country, the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his dear citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.

A. M.

3877.

Ant. J. C.

127.

Lucian. in

Macrobi.

p. 642.

A. M.

3883.

Ant. J. C.

121.

His principal works are; the life of Philopæmen; a treatise upon the Tactics, or the art of drawing up armies in battle; the history of the Numantian war, of which Cicero speaks in his letter to Lucceius; and his universal history. Of all these works only the last remains, and that very imperfect. Polybius himself calls it *Universal History*, not in respect of times, but of places, because it contained not only the wars of the Romans, but all that passed in the known world during the space of fifty-three years, that is to say, from the beginning of the second Punic war to the reduction of the kingdom of Macedonia into a province of the Roman empire.

No history presents us, in so short a space of time, with so great a diversity of events, all of them decisive, and of the last importance: The second Punic war between the two most powerful and warlike people of the earth, which at first brought Rome to the very brink of destruction, and then, by a very surprizing reverse of fortune,
reduced

reduced the power of Carthage, and prepared the way for its final ruin : The war with Philip, whom the antient glory of the Macedonian kings, and the name of Alexander the Great, still dreadful in some sense, rendered formidable : The war with Antiochus, the most opulent king of Asia, who drew after him great armies both by sea and land ; and that with the Ætolians his allies, a warlike people, who pretended to give place to no nation in valour and bravery : And lastly, the last Macedonian war with Perseus, which gave the fatal blow to that empire once so terrible, and to which the whole earth was too narrow. All these events, within the space of little more than fifty years, gave the wondering world a sense of the Roman greatness, and shewed it that Rome was destined to command all the nations of the Universe. Could Polybius desire a greater, more magnificent, or more affecting subject of history ?

All the facts which happened in this space of time, composed thirty-eight books, in the front of which he had placed two, by way of introduction to the others, and of continuation to the history of Timæus. His own consisted therefore of forty books, of which we have only the five first as Polybius left them, and fragments, sometimes considerable enough, of the twelve that follow, with the *embassies*, and *examples of virtue and vice*, which the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the twelfth century, caused to be extracted from Polybius's history, and to be inserted in his *Political Pandeets* ; a great collection, in which all that had been wrote by the antient historians upon certain matters, were disposed under their several heads, and in which the reader might see what had been done in the various cases, wherein he might happen to be himself, without the trouble of reading those historians.

And this is the true use and great advantage of history, which, properly speaking, is the science of kings, generals, ministers of state, and of all who are employed in, or have any relation to, government. For men are always the same, they act in all ages upon the same principles, and the same springs almost always set states in motion, and occasion the various revolutions that happen in them. That prince was therefore very wise to conceive the design of establishing in his empire a kind of perpetual council, composed of the most prudent, the most experienced, and most profound persons of every kind, that the antient world had produced. This design, so laudable in itself, proved however the great misfortune of all succeeding ages. As soon as it became the habit to consult only these abridgments, (to which our natural indolence and sloth soon lead us) the originals were considered as useless, and no farther pains were taken to copy them. The loss of many important works are ascribed to this cause; though other circumstances no doubt contributed also to it. The abridgments themselves, of which I am speaking, are a proof of this. Of fifty heads, which they contained at first, only two are come down to us. If they had been preserved entire, they might in some manner have consoled us for the loss of the originals. But all has undergone the common fate of human things, and leaves us only matter of regret.

What a misfortune is it, that such an history as Polybius's is lost! Who ever was so attentive and exact in assuring himself of the truth of facts as he? That he might not err in the description of places, a circumstance highly important in relating military affairs, as an attack, a siege, a battle, or a march, he went to them himself, and made a great number of voyages with that sole view. Truth was his only view. It is from him we have this celebrated maxim, that truth is to history,
what

what eyes are to animals : that as the latter are of no use without sight, so history without truth is only amusing and unprofitable narration.

But the facts may here be said to be the least we have to regret. What an irreparable loss are the excellent maxims of policy, and the solid reflections of a man, who, with a natural passion for public good, had made it his whole study ; who during so many years had been present in the greatest affairs ; who had governed himself, and whose government had given such general satisfaction ! In these the principal merit of Polybius consists, which is what a reader of taste ought principally to look for in him. For, we must allow, that the reflections (I mean those of so wise a man as Polybius) are the soul of history.

His digressions are condemned. They are long and frequent, I confess ; but they abound with such curious facts, and useful instructions, that we ought not only to pardon him that fault, if it be one, but think ourselves obliged to him for it. Besides which, we should remember, that Polybius undertook the universal history of his own times, as he intitles his work ; which ought to suffice in vindication of his digressions.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a critic of great reputation in the antient world, has passed a judgment upon our historian, which gives great reason to suspect himself in point of criticism. Without any circumlocution he flatly tells us, that no patience is of sufficient proof to endure the reading of Polybius ; and his reason for it is, because that author knows nothing of the disposition of words : That is to say, his history had not such round, flowing, numerous periods, as he uses himself, which is an essential fault in point of history. A military, simple, negligent style is to be pardoned in such a writer as ours, who is more attentive to things,

OF GREEK HISTORIANS.

things, than turns of phrase and diction. I shall make no scruple therefore to prefer the judgment of Brutus to that of this rhetorician, who far from finding it tedious to read Polybius, was continually perusing him, and made extracts from him at his leisure hours. We find him employed in this manner the evening before the battle of Pharsalia.

S E C T VI.

D I O D O R U S S I C U L U S.

DIODORUS was of Agyrium a city of Sicily, from whence he was called *Diodorus Siculus*, to distinguish him from several other authors of the same name. He lived in the time of Julius and Augustus Cæsar.

The title of his work is, *The Historical Library*. It contains the history of almost all the nations of the world, whom he in a manner passes in review before his reader : Egyptians, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, and several more. It consisted of forty books, of which he gives us the plan and series in his preface. The six first, says he, contain what passed before the Trojan war, that is to say all the fabulous times ; in the first three are the antiquities of the Barbarians, in the other three those of the Greeks. The eleven that follow contain the history of all nations from the Trojan war to the death of Alexander the Great inclusively. In the other twenty-three this general history is continued down to the beginning of the war with the Gauls, in which Julius Cæsar, after having subjected many very warlike nations of Gaul, extended the limits of the Roman empire to the British isles.

Of these forty books, only fifteen remain, with some fragments, most of them preserved by Photius, and the extracts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

nitus. The five first follow each other in their order.

In the first, Diodorus treats of the origin of the world, and of what relates to Egypt.

In the second, of the first kings of Asia, from Ninus to Sardanapalus ; of the Medes, Indians, Scythians and Arabians.

In the third, of the Æthiopians and Libyans.

In the fourth, of the fabulous history of the Greeks.

In the fifth, of the fabulous history of Sicily, and the other islands.

The sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth books are lost.

The following seven, from the eleventh to the seventh inclusively, contain the history of ninety years, from the expedition of Xerxes into Greece to the death of Alexander the Great.

The three following, the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth, treat of the disputes and wars of Alexander's successors down to the disposition of the two armies for the battle of Ipsus. And there ends what remains of the history of Diodorus Siculus, in a very important part of it, and at the moment a battle is going to be fought, which decides the fate of Alexander's successors.

In these last ten books, which properly include the continued history of the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, Diodorus introduces also the history of other nations, and in particular that of the Romans, according as its events concur with his principal subject.

Diodorus tells us himself in his preface, that he employed thirty years in composing his history, in which his long residence at Rome was of great use to him. Besides this he ran over, not without frequent dangers, many provinces of Europe and Asia, to inform himself fully in the situation of the cities and other places of which he was to treat :

which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the perfection of history.

His style is neither elegant nor florid, but simple, clear, and intelligible: that simplicity has however nothing low and creeping in it.

Diod. l. 20. Though he does not approve interrupting the
p. 749. thread of history with frequent and long harangues, he does not entirely reject the use of them, and believes they may be employed with great propriety, when the importance of the subject requires

Diod. l. 13. it. After the defeat of Nicias, the Syracusans de-
p. 149—liberated in their assembly upon the treatment it
161. was proper to give the Athenian prisoners. Diodorus repeats the harangues of two orators, which are long and very fine, especially the first.

Neither his Chronology, nor the names either of the Archons of Athens, or of the consuls and military tribunes of Rome, into which many errors have crept, are to be relied on.

Very solid and judicious reflections occur from time to time in this history. He takes particular care not to ascribe the success of wars, and other enterprizes, to chance or blind fortune with many other historians, but to a Wisdom and Providence which presides over all events.

Every thing well weighed and considered, we ought to set a great value upon the works of Diodorus come down to us, and very much to regret the loss of the rest, which would have afforded great light into every part of antient history.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS.

The historian of whom we now speak, apprizes us himself, in the preface of his work, that there is little known of his person and history. He was a native of Halicarnassus, a city of Caria in Asia Minor, the country of the great Herodotus. His

father's name was Alexander, of whom nothing more is known.

He arrived in Italy about the middle of the CLXXXVIIth Olympiad, at the time Augustus Cæsar terminated the civil war with Antony. He remained twenty-two years at Rome, which he employed in attaining the Latin tongue with great exactness, in studying the literature and writings of the Romans, and especially in carefully collecting materials for the work he had in view: for that seems to have been the motive of his voyage.

In order to succeed the better in it, he contracted a great intimacy with all the most learned persons of Rome, with whom he frequently conversed. To their informations by word of mouth, which were of great use to him, he added a close application to the study of the Roman historians in greatest esteem, as Cato, Fabius Pictor, Valerius Antias, and Licinius Macer, who are often quoted by Livy.

When he believed himself sufficiently informed in all that was necessary to the execution of his design, he applied himself to it. The title of his work is *The Roman Antiquities*, which he called it, because, in writing the Roman history, he traces it back to its most antient origin. He continued his history down to the first Punic war, at which period he stopped, perhaps because his plan was to clear up that part of the Roman history which was least known. For, from the first Punic war, that history had been wrote by cotemporary authors in every body's hands.

Of the twenty books, which compose his Roman Antiquities, we have now only the first eleven, that come down no lower than the 312th year from the foundation of Rome. The nine last, which contained all that happened to the 488th according to Cato, and the 490th according to Varro, have perished through the injuries of time. Al-

most as often as we speak of any antient author, we are obliged to deplore the loss of part of his works, especially when they are excellent, as were those of the writer in question.

We have also some fragments of his upon the subject of embassies, which are only detached and very imperfect pieces. The two heads of Constantine Porphyrogenitus which remain, have also preserved several fragments of this author.

Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, speaks of the twenty books of antiquities, as of a perfect work which he had read. He cites besides an abridgment, which Dionysius Halicarnassensis made of his history in five books. He praises it for its purity, elegance and exactness; and makes no scruple to say, that this historian in his epitome has excelled himself.

We have two translations sufficiently recent of the history of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, which have each their merit, but of a different kind. It does not belong to me to compare them, or to give one the preference to the other. I leave that to the public, which has a right to pass judgment upon the works abandoned to it. I only propose to make great use of them in composing the Roman history.

Father Jay the jesuit, in the preface to his translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, gives us an idea and character of this author, to which it is hard to add any thing. I shall almost do no more than copy him, except it be in abridging him in some places.

All the writers antient and modern, who have spoke with any judgment of his history, discover in him facility of genius, profound erudition, exact discernment, and judicious criticism. He was versed in all the liberal arts and sciences, a good Philosopher, a wise Politician, and an excellent Rhetorician. He has drawn himself in his work

without designing it. We see him there a friend of truth, remote from all prejudice, temperate, zealous for religion, and a declared enemy of the impiety which denies Providence.

He does not content himself with relating the wars abroad; but describes with the same care the transactions of peace, that conduce to good order at home, and to the support of union and tranquillity amongst the citizens. He does not tire the reader with tedious narrations. If he deviates into digressions, it is always to instruct him in something new, and agreeable. He mingles his accounts with moral and political reflections, which are the soul of history, and the principal advantage to be attained from the study of it. He treats his matter with far more abundance and extent than Livy; and what the latter includes in his three first books, the Greek author makes the subject of eleven.

It is certain that, without what remains of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, we should be ignorant of many things, of which Livy and the other Latin historians have either neglected to inform us, or speak of very superficially. He is the only writer, that has given us a perfect knowledge of the Romans, and has left posterity a circumstantial account of their ceremonies, worship, sacrifices, manners, customs, discipline, triumphs, *Comitia* or assemblies, *Census* or the numbering, assessing, and distribution of the people into tribes and classes. We are indebted to him for the laws of Romulus, Numa and Servius Tullius, and for many things of the like nature. As he wrote his history only to inform the Greeks his countrymen in the actions and manners of the Romans, which were unknown to them, he thought himself obliged to be more attentive and express upon those heads than the Latin historians, who were not in the same case with him.

As to the style, which the Greek and Latin historians have used in their work, F. Jay contents himself with the judgment Henry Stephens passes upon it: "That the Roman history could not be better wrote than Dionysius of Halicarnassus has done it in Greek, and Livy in Latin.

For my part I am far from subscribing to this opinion, which gives Dionysius of Halicarnassus a kind of equality with Livy, and seems to make them equal in point of style. I find an infinite difference between them in this respect. In the Latin author, the descriptions, images, and harangues, are full of beauty, force, vivacity, sublimity, majesty: in the Greek, every thing is weak, prolix, and languid, in comparison with the other. I could wish, that the limits of my work would admit me to insert here one of the finest facts in the history of antient Rome; that is the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, and to compare the two passages together. In Livy the reader believes himself actually present whilst they engage. At the first sight of their naked swords, the noise and clash of their arms, and the blood streaming from their wounds, he finds himself struck with horror. He shares with the Romans and Albans their different emotions of fear, hope, grief, joy, which on both sides alternately succeed each other. He is continually in suspense, and anxiously waits the success, which is to decide the fate of the two people. The narration of Dionysius, which is much longer, gives the reader scarce any of these emotions. He runs it over in cold blood, without quitting his natural tranquillity and indifference, and is not in a manner transported out of himself by the violent agitations he feels from Livy on every change that happens in the fortune of the combatants. Dionysius of Halicarnassus may have several advantages of Livy in
other

other respects : but, in my opinion, is by no means comparable to him in respect to style.

PHILO. APION.

PHILO was a Jew of Alexandria, of the sacerdotal race, and descended from the most illustrious families of the whole city. He had studied the sacred writings, which are the science of the Jews, with great care. He acquired much reputation also by human learning and philosophy, especially that of Plato. He was deputed by the Jews of Alexandria to the emperor Caligula, to vindicate the right they pretended to have to the freedom of that city.

Besides many other works, according to Euseb. Euseb. 1. 2. bius, he wrote the sufferings of the Jews under Caligula in five books. Only the two first have been preserved, of which the one has for its title, *Embassy to Caius*. The three others are lost. It is said that Philo in the reign of Claudius having read in the full senate his writings against the impiety of Caligula, they were so well approved, that they were ordered to be placed in the public library. Ibid. c. 18.

APION, or APPION, was an Egyptian, born at Oasis in the most remote part of Egypt. But having obtained the freedom of Alexandria, he called himself a native of that place. He was a grammarian by profession, as those who excelled in human learning and the knowledge of antiquity were termed in those times. He was placed at the head of the deputies sent by the people of Alexandria to Caligula against the Jews of that city.

He had been the pupil of Didymus, a celebrated grammarian of Alexandria. He was a man of great learning, and perfectly versed in the Grecian history, but very full of himself, and passionately enamoured of his own merit. Suid. Aul. Gell. 1. 5. c. 14.

His history of Egypt is cited by authors, and contained almost whatever was most memorable in that famous country. He spoke very ill of the Jews in it, and still worse in another work, in which he had industriously collected all kinds of calumny against them.

Aul. Gell.
ibid.

The story of a slave called Androcles, who was provided with food during three years by a lion he had cured of a wound, and afterwards known by the same lion in sight of the whole city of Rome, when he was exposed to fight with wild beasts, must have happened about the time we speak of, because Apion, from whom Aulus Gellius quotes it, declared that he was an eye-witness of it. The slave in consequence was rewarded with his life and liberty, besides the lion. This fact is described at large in Aulus Gellius, and is worth reading.

JOSEPHUS.

A. D. 37.
Joseph. in
vita sua.

JOSEPHUS was of Jerusalem, and of the sacerdotal race. He was born in the first year of Caligula. He was so well instructed, that at the age of fourteen the Pontiffs themselves consulted him concerning the Law. After having carefully examined the three sects into which the Jews were then divided, he chose that of the Pharisees.

A. D. 56. At the age of nineteen he began to have a share in the public affairs.

He sustained with incredible valour the siege of Jotaphat for almost seven weeks. That city was taken in the thirteenth year of Nero, and cost the Romans very dear. Vespasian was wounded in it. Forty thousand Jews were killed there; and Josephus, who had hid himself in a cave, was at last reduced to surrender himself to Vespasian.

I shall not relate all that passed from that time to the siege and taking of Jerusalem; he does it himself at large, to whom I refer the reader. I shall

shall only observe that during the whole war, and even whilst he continued captive, Vespasian and Titus always kept him near their persons; so that nothing happened of which he was not perfectly informed. For he saw with his own eyes all that was done on the side of the Romans, and set it down exactly; and was told by deserters, who all applied to him, what passed in the city, which no doubt he did not fail to note also.

It is more than probable that he learnt the Greek tongue, after the taking of Jotaphat, and when he saw himself obliged to live with the Romans. He owns that he could never pronounce it well, because he did not learn it whilst young; the Jews setting little value upon the knowledge of languages. Photius judges his style pure.

After the war, Titus went to Rome and took him thither along with him. Vespasian caused him to be lodged in the house he lived in before he was emperor, made him a citizen of Rome, gave him a pension with lands in Judæa, and expressed abundance of affection for him as long as he lived. It was undoubtedly Vespasian who gave him the name of Flavius, which was that of his family, when he made him a Roman citizen.

In the leisure Josephus enjoyed at Rome, he employed himself in writing the history of the war with the Jews from the materials he had prepared before. He composed it first in his own language, which was almost the same as the Syriac. He afterwards translated it into Greek for the nations of the empire, tracing it back to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees.

Josephus makes profession of relating with entire veracity all that passed on both sides, reserving of his affection for his country, only the right of deploring its misfortunes sometimes, and of detesting the crimes of the seditious, who had occasioned its final destruction.

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As soon as he had finished his history in the Greek, he presented it to Vespasian and Titus, who were extremely pleased with it. The latter afterwards was not contented with ordering it to be published, and placing it in a library open to every body; but signed the copy deposited there with his own hand, to shew that he desired it should be from him alone all the world was informed of what passed during the siege, and at the taking of Jerusalem.

Besides the veracity and importance of this history, wherein we find the entire and literal accomplishment of the predictions of JESUS CHRIST against Jerusalem, and the terrible vengeance taken by God of that unfortunate nation for the death they had made his Son suffer, the work in itself is highly esteemed for its beauty. Photius's judgment of this history is, that it is agreeable, and full of elevation and majesty, without swelling into excess or bombast; that it is lively and animated, abounding with that kind of eloquence, which either excites or soothes the passions of the soul at pleasure; that it has a multitude of excellent maxims of morality; that the speeches in it are fine and persuasive; and that, when it is necessary to support the opinions of the opposite parties, it is surprizingly fruitful of ingenious and plausible reasonings on both sides. St. Jerom gives Josephus still higher praises in a single word, which perfectly expresses his character, by calling him the *Livy* of the Greeks.

Phot.c.47
Hieron.
Ep. 22.

After Josephus had wrote the history of the destruction of the Jews, he undertook the general history of that nation, beginning at the creation of the world, in order to make known to the whole earth the wonderful works of God that occur in it. This he executed in twenty books, to which he gives the title of Antiquities, though he continues them down to the twelfth year of Nero, when the

the Jews revolted. It appears that he inscribed this work to Epaphroditus, a curious and learned man, who is believed to be the celebrated freedman of Nero, that Domitian put to death in the year 95. Josephus finished this work in the 56th year of his age, which was the 13th of Domitian's reign. A. D. 93.

He declares in it that he neither adds to, nor diminishes any thing of what is contained in the holy scriptures, from which he has extracted what he relates, till after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity. But he has not kept his word so religiously as might be desired. He inserts some facts which are not in the scripture, retrenches many others, and disguises some in a manner, that renders them merely human, and makes them lose that divine air, that majesty, which the simplicity of the scripture gives them. Besides which, after having related the greatest of God's miracles, he is inexcusable for often weakening their authority by leaving every body at liberty to believe of them as they please. In præfat.

Josephus was willing to annex the history of his own life to his Antiquities, whilst there were many persons still in being, who could have contradicted him, if he had departed from the truth. Accordingly it appears that he wrote it presently after them; and it is taken as part of the 20th book of his Antiquities. He employs almost all of it in relating what he did when governor of Galilee before the arrival of Vespasian. A. D. 96.

As many persons declared they doubted what he said of the Jews in his Antiquities, and objected, that, if that nation were so antient as he made it, other historians would have spoke of it; he undertook a work not only to prove, that many historians had spoken of the Jews, but to refute all the calumnies vented against them by different authors, and particularly Apion, of whom we have spoke;

spoke; which occasions the whole work's being usually called *Against Apion*.

No writings were ever more generally esteemed than those of Josephus. The translation of them appeared in our language at a time, when, for want of better books, romances were the general study of the world. It contributed very much to abate that bad taste. And indeed, we may easily conceive, that only persons of a wrong, light, superficial turn of mind could attach themselves to works, that are no more than the idle imaginations of writers without weight or authority, in preference to histories so fine and solid as those of Josephus. Truth alone is the natural nourishment of the mind, which must be distempered to prefer, or even compare, fiction and fable to it.

S E C T. VII.

PLUTARCH.

A D. 48. **P**LUTARCH was born at Chæronea, a town of Bœotia, five or six years before the death of the emperor Claudius, as near as can be conjectured. Bœotia was censured by the antients as a country, that produced no men of wit or merit. Plutarch, not to instance Pindar and Epaminondas, is a good refutation of this unjust prejudice, and an evident proof, as he says himself, that there is no soil in which genius and virtue cannot grow up.

He descended from one of the best and most considerable families of Chæronea. The name of his father is not known: he speaks of him as a man of great merit and erudition. His uncle was called Lamprias, of whom he says, that he was very eloquent, had a fruitful imagination, and excelled himself when at table with his friends. For at that time his genius conceived new fire, and his imagi-

imagination, which was always happy, became more lively and abundant: Plutarch has preserved this witty saying of Lamprias upon himself: *That wine had the same effect upon his wit, as fire upon incense; it made the finest and most exquisite parts of it evaporate.*

Plutarch tells us, that he studied philosophy and mathematics at Delphi, under the philosopher Ammonius, during Nero's voyage into Greece, at which time he might be about seventeen or eighteen years old.

The talents of Plutarch seem to have displayed themselves very early in his country. For whilst he was very young, he was deputed with another citizen upon an important affair to the proconsul. His colleague having stopped on the way, he went forwards alone, and executed their joint commission. At his return, when he was preparing to give an account of it to the public, his father taking him aside spoke to him to this effect: "In the report you are going to make, son, take care not to say, *I went, I spoke, I did thus*: but always say, *We went, we spoke, we did thus*, giving your colleague a part in all your actions, that half the success may be ascribed to him, whom his country honoured with an equal share in the commission: by this means you may avoid the envy, which seldom fails to attend the glory of having succeeded." This is a wise lesson, but seldom practised by such as have colleagues, either in the command of armies, public administrations, or in any commissions whatsoever; in which it often happens, through a mistaken self-love, and a despicable and odious meanness of spirit, that men are for arrogating to themselves the honour of a success, to which they have only a right in common with their colleagues. They do not reflect, that glory generally follows those who fly

Plut. in
Moral.
p. 816.

fly it, and pays them back with great interest the praises they are willing to divide with others.

He made many voyages into Italy, on what occasion is not known. We can only conjecture with very good foundation, that the view of carrying on and making his lives of illustrious men as compleat as possible, obliged him to reside more at Rome, than he would otherwise have done. What he says in the life of Demosthenes, strengthens this conjecture. According to him, “ a man who undertakes to collect facts, and to write an history consisting of events, which are neither in his own hands, nor have happened in his own country, but which are foreign, various, and dispersed here and there in many different writings ; it is absolutely necessary for such a man to reside in a great and populous city, where good taste in general prevails. Such a residence puts it into his power to have a multiplicity of books at his disposal, and to inform himself, by conversation, of all the particulars which have escaped writers, and which, from being preserved in the memories of men, have only acquired the greater authority from that kind of tradition. It is the means not to compose a work imperfect, and defective in its principal parts.”

In vit.
Demost.
p. 846.

It is impossible to tell exactly when he took these voyages. We can only say for certain, that he did not go to Rome for the first time till the end of Vespasian's reign, and that he went there no more after that of Domitian. For it appears, that he was settled in his country for good, a little before the latter's death, and that he retired thither at the age of forty-four or forty-five.

His motive for fixing his retirement there from thenceforth, is worth observing. *I was born, says he, in a very small city ; and to prevent it from being smaller, I choose to remain in it.* And indeed what glory has he not acquired it ! Cato of Utica, having

having with difficulty prevailed upon the philosopher Athenodorus to go with him from Asia to Rome, was so much pleased with, and so proud of that conquest, that he considered it as a greater, more glorious, and more useful exploit, than those of Lucullus and Pompey, who had triumphed over the nations and empires of the East. If a stranger, famous for his wisdom, can do so much honour to a city of which he is not a native, how much must a great philosopher, a great author, exalt the city that produced him, and in which he chooses to end his days, tho' he could find greater advantages elsewhere. Mr. Dacier says with reason, that nothing ought to do Plutarch more honour than this love and tenderness which he expressed for Chæronea. We every day see people quit their country to make their fortunes, and aggrandize themselves; but none who renounce their ambition, to make, if we may be allowed to say so, the fortune of their country.

Plutarch has rendered his very famous. Hardly any body remembers that Chæronea was the place where Philip gained the great victory over the Athenians and Bœotians, which made him master of Greece; but multitudes say, it was there Plutarch was born, it was there he ended his days, and wrote most of those fine works that will be of eternal use and instruction to mankind.

During his stay at Rome, his house was always full of the lovers of learning, amongst whom were the greatest personages of the city, who went thither to hear his discourses upon the different subjects of philosophy. In those times, the principal persons of the state, and the emperors themselves, thought it for their honour, and made it their pleasure, to be present at the lectures of the great philosophers and famous rhetoricians. We may judge of the passion with which these public dissertations of Plutarch were heard, and of the attention of his auditors, from what he tells us himself
in

Pag. 522. in his treatise upon curiosity. “ Formerly at
 “ Rome, says he, when I was speaking in pub-
 “ lic, Arulenus Rusticus, whom Domitian after-
 “ wards put to death through envy of his glory,
 “ was one of my hearers. Whilst I was in the
 “ midst of my discourse, an officer came in, and
 “ delivered him a letter from Cæsar, (probably
 “ Vespasian.) The assembly kept a profound silence
 “ at first, and I stopped to give him time to read
 “ his letter : but he would not ; and did not open
 “ it till I had done, and the assembly was dismiss-
 “ ed.” This was perhaps carrying deference for
 the orator a little too far. A fault not very com-
 mon, with the excuse of a very laudable principle!

Plutarch’s dissertations were always in Greek. For, though the Latin tongue was used throughout the empire, he did not understand it well enough
 Pag. 846. to speak it. He tells us himself, in the life of Demosthenes, that during his residence at Rome, the public affairs, with which he was charged, and the number of persons that came every day to entertain themselves with philosophy, did not afford him time for learning it ; that he did not begin to read the writings of the Romans till very late ; and that the terms of that language did not serve so much to make him understand the facts, as the knowledge he had before of the facts, to make him understand the terms. But the Greek tongue was well known at Rome, and, properly speaking, was even the language of the sciences, witness the works of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who wrote his admirable reflections in Greek. This want of knowing the Latin tongue made Plutarch commit some faults, which are to be observed in his writings.

He had the most considerable offices in his country : for he was Archon, that is, principal magistrate. But he had passed through inferior employments before, and had acted in them with the same
 care,

care, application, and satisfaction of the public, as he did afterwards in the most important. He was In Moral. convinced, and taught others by his example, that p. 811. the employments with which our country thinks fit to charge us, however low they may seem, reflect no dishonour upon us, and that it depends on a man of worth and sense to make them noble, by the manner in which he acquits himself of them; and this he proves by the example of Epaminondas.

As Plutarch punctually discharged all the duties of civil life, and was at the same time a good son, a good brother, father, husband, master and citizen; he had the pleasure in consequence to find in his domestic affairs, and throughout his family, all the peace and satisfaction he could desire: a felicity not very common, and the effect of a wife, moderate, and obliging spirit. He speaks much Consol. ad uxor. p. 608, &c. in favour of his brothers, sisters, and wife. She was descended from the best families of Chæroneæ, and was esteemed a model of prudence, modesty, and virtue: her name was Timoxena. He had four sons successively by her, and one daughter. He lost two of the first, and after them the daughter at two years of age. We have his letter of consolation to his wife upon the death of this child.

He had a nephew, called Sextus, a philosopher of such great learning and reputation, that he was sent for to Rome to teach the emperor Marcus Aurelius the Grecian literature. That emperor mentions him much for his honour in the first book of his reflections. *Sextus, says he, taught me by his example to be mild and obliging, to govern my house as a good father of a family, to have a grave simplicity without affectation, to endeavour to find out and prevent the desires and wants of my friends, to bear the ignorant and presuming, who speak without thinking of what they say, and to adapt myself to*

the understanding of all men, &c. These are all excellent qualities, especially that which induced him to find out and prevent the desires and wants of his friends, because it shews, that Marcus Aurelius knew the essential duty of a prince, which is to be fully convinc'd within himself, that, as a prince, he is born for others, and not others for him. As much may be said of all persons in place and authority.

It is time to proceed to the works of Plutarch. They are divided into two classes, the Lives of illustrious men, and his Morals.

In the latter there are a great number of curious facts not to be found elsewhere, with very useful lessons both for the conduct of private life, and the administration of public affairs, and even admirable principles concerning the divinity, providence, and the immortality of the soul; but with a mixture every where of the absurd and ridiculous opinions, which we find in almost all the pagans. The ignorance also of true physics renders the reading of many of these tracts tedious and disagreeable.

The most esteemed part of Plutarch's works is his lives of illustrious men, Greeks and Romans, whom he matches as near as possible and compares together. We have not all he compos'd; at least sixteen of them being lost. Those, of which the loss is most to be regretted, are the lives of Epaminondas and the two Scipios *Africani*. The comparisons of Themistocles and Camillus, of Pyrrhus and Marius, of Phocion and Cato, and of Cæsar and Alexander, are also wanting.

It would not be surprizing if a man of fine taste and judgment were asked, which of all the books of profane antiquity he would preserve, if he had the choice of saving only one of them from being burnt with all the rest; we ought not to wonder I say, if such a man pitched upon Plutarch's lives.

It is not only the most accomplished work we have, but the most proper for forming men either for public affairs and functions abroad, or for private and domestic life. Plutarch does not suffer himself, like the generality of historians, to be dazzled by the splendor of actions, which make a great deal of noise, and attract the admiration of the vulgar, and the many. He usually judges of things by what constitutes their real value. The wise reflections, which he scatters every where in his writings, accustom his readers to think in the same manner, and teach them wherein true greatness and solid glory consist. He inflexibly denies those exalted attributes to every thing that does not bear the stamp of justice, truth, goodness, humanity, love of the public, and has only the appearances of them. He does not stop at the exterior and glittering actions, in which princes, conquerors, and the other great ones of the earth, intent upon acquiring themselves names, play each their part upon the stage of the world, where they exhibit, to use the expression, a transitory and assumed character, and succeed in the counterfeit for a time. He unmarks, and divests, them of all the foreign glare and disguise that surround them; he shews them as they are in themselves; and to put it out of their power to escape his piercing sight, he follows them with his reader into the most secret recesses of their houses, examines them, if I may say so, in their dishabille, listens to their most familiar conversations, considers them at table where constraint seldom comes, and even at play, where disguise is still more unusual. These are the qualities in which Plutarch is wonderful, and which, in my opinion are too much neglected by modern historians, who shun particulars of a common nature as low and trivial, which however shew the characters of men better than more great and glaring circumstances. These details are so far from

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diminishing

diminishing the merit of Plutarch's lives, that they are directly what renders them at the same time more agreeable, and more useful.

The reader will permit me to give an instance of this kind of actions in this place. I have already cited it in my treatise upon the study of polite learning, in that part of it where I examine in what true greatness consists.

The marshal Turenne never set out for the army, without having first ordered all his tradesmen to be directed to deliver in their bills to his steward. His reason for it was, because he did not know whether he should return from the field. This circumstance may appear little and low to some people, and not worthy of a place in the history of so great a man as that marshal. Plutarch would not have thought so; and I am convinced, that the author of the new life of that prince, who is a man of sense and judgment, would not have omitted it, if it had come to his knowledge. For indeed it argues a fund of goodness, equity, humanity, and even religion, which are not always to be found in great lords, who are too apt to be insensible to the complaints of the artisan and the poor, the payment of whom however deferred only a few days, according to the holy scripture, cries for vengeance to heaven, and does not fail to obtain it.

As to the style of Plutarch, his diction is neither pure nor elegant: but to make us amends it has a wonderful force and energy in painting the most lively images in few words, in venting the sharpest and most piercing things, and in expressing noble and sublime thoughts. He frequently enough makes use of comparisons, which throw abundance of grace and light into his narrations and reflections; and has harangues of inimitable beauty, almost always in the strong and vehement style.

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The beauties of this author must be very solid, and bear much of the stamp of good taste in them, to make themselves so perceptible as they still are in the old French of Amiot. But I mistake. That old French has an air of freshness, a spirit in it, that seems to make it bloom and grow young again every day. Hence it is that very good judges choose rather to use the translation of Amiot, than to translate the passages they quote from Plutarch themselves, *not believing* (says Mr. Racine*) *themselves capable of equalling the beauties of it*. I never read it, without regretting the loss of abundance of happy terms and expressions in that old language, which have almost as much energy as those of Plutarch. We suffer our language to impoverish itself every day, instead of being studious, after the example of our neighbours the English, of discoveries to enrich it. It is said that our ladies, out of too much delicacy, are partly the cause of that dearth, to which our language is in danger of being reduced. This would be very wrong, and they ought rather to favour with their suffrages, which would bring over abundance of followers, the prudent boldness of writers of a certain rank and merit; who, on their side, should assume more boldness, and venture more new words than they do, but always with judicious reserve and discretion.

We are however obliged to Mr. Dacier for having substituted a new translation of Plutarch's lives to that of Amiot, and for having thereby enabled much greater numbers to read them. It might have been more elegant and more laboured. But to carry a work of so vast an extent to its ultimate perfection, would require the whole life of an author.

* In the preface to his *Mithridates*.

ARRIAN.

ARRIAN was of Nicomedia. His learning and eloquence, which acquired him the title of the new Xenophon, raised him to the highest dignities, and even the consulship, at Rome. There is reason to believe him the same Arrian, who governed Cappadocia in the latter part of Adrian's reign, and repulsed the Alans. He lived at Rome in the time of Adrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius.

He was the disciple of Epictetus, the most celebrated philosopher of that time. He wrote a work upon *the conversations of Epictetus* in eight books, of which we have only the four first, and composed many other treatises.

His seven books upon the expeditions of Alexander are come down to us; an history the more valuable, as we have it from a writer, who was both a warrior, and a good politician. Photius accordingly gives him the praise of having wrote the life of that conqueror better than any body. We have from that critic an abridgment of the lives of Alexander's successors, which Arrian also wrote in ten books. He adds, that the same author composed a book upon India; and it is still extant, but has been made the eighth book of the history of Alexander.

He also wrote a description of the coasts of the Euxine sea. Another is ascribed to him upon those of the Red sea, that is to say the eastern coasts of Africa, and those of Asia as far as India. But this seems to be a more antient author's, contemporary with Pliny the naturalist.

ÆLIAN. (*Claudius Ælianus.*)

ÆLIAN was of Præneste, but passed the greatest part of his life at Rome; for which reason
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he calls himself a Roman. He wrote a little work in fourteen books, intituled, *Historiæ variæ*, that is to say, *Miscellaneous Histories*; and another in seventeen books upon the History of Animals. We have a treatise in Greek and Latin upon the order observed by the Greeks in drawing up armies, inscribed to Adrian, and composed by one of the name of Ælian. All these works may be the same author's, who is believed the person whose eloquence Martial praises in one of his epigrams.

Lib. 12.
Epig. 24.

A P P I A N.

APPIAN was of Alexandria, and lived in the time of Trajan, Adrian and Antoninus. He pleaded some time at Rome, and was afterwards comptroller of the Imperial domains.

He wrote the Roman history, not in the order of time like Livy, but making each nation subjected by the Romans a work apart, and relating events as they happened to each separately. Accordingly his design was to write an exact history of the Romans, and of all the provinces of their empire, down to Augustus; and sometimes he went also as low as to Trajan. Photius speaks of twenty-four books of it, though when he wrote, he had not seen all those which Appian mentions in his preface.

We have at present the history of the wars of Africa, Syria, Parthia, Mithridates, Iberia or Spain, and Hannibal; some fragments of those of Illyria; five books of the civil wars instead of eight mentioned by Photius, and some fragments of several others, extracted by Mr. Valois out of the collections of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with extracts of the like nature from Polybius, and several other historians.

Photius observes, that this author has an extreme passion for the truth of history; that none teach the art of war better; and that his style is

simple and void of superfluity, but lively and vigorous. In his harangues he gives his reader excellent models of conduct, either for reanimating troops when discouraged, or for appeasing them when mutinous and violent. He borrows many things from Polybius, and often copies Plutarch.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS lived in the time of Antoninus, or soon after. Others place him in the reign of Severus and his successors. He wrote the lives of the philosophers in ten books, and carefully relates their opinions and apophthegms. This work is of great use for knowing the different sects of the ancient philosophers.

The surname of *Laertius* usually given him, probably implies his country, which was perhaps the fortress or city of Laertia in Cilicia.

We find by his writings, that after having well studied history and the maxims of the philosophers, he embraced the sect of the Epicureans, the farthest from truth, and the most contrary to virtue, of them all.

DION CASSIUS. (*Cocceius* or *Cocceianus*.)

DION was of Nicæa in Bithynia. He lived in the reigns of the emperors Commodus, Pertinax, Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, and Alexander, who all had a very high regard for him, and confided the most important offices and governments of the empire to his care. Alexander nominated him consul for the second time. After this consulship, he obtained permission to retire, and pass the rest of his life in his own country, upon account of his infirmities.

Suid.
Phot.

He wrote the whole Roman history from the arrival of Æneas in Italy to the reign of the emperor

peror Alexander in eight Decads, or fourscore books. He tells us himself, that he employed ten years in collecting materials of all that passed from the foundation of Rome to the death of Severus, and twelve years more in composing his history down to that of Commodus. He afterwards added to it that of the other emperors, with as much exactness as he could, to the death of Heliogabalus, and a simple abridgment of the eight first years of Alexander, because from having been little in Italy during that time, it had not been in his power to know so well how things had passed. Dio. l. 72. p. 829. Id. l. 89. P. 917.

Photius observes that his style is lofty, and adapted to the greatness of his subject: that his terms are magnificent, and that his phrases and manner of writing have the air of antiquity: that he has taken Thucydides for his model, whom he imitates excellently in the turn of his narration and harangues, and has followed him in all things, except in being more clear. This praise is much in Dion's favour, but I do not know whether it does not a little exceed the bounds of truth.

Vossius says, and Lepsius had thought the same before him, that this historian is unpardonable for not having known how to esteem virtue according to its value, and for having censured the greatest men of antiquity, as Cicero, Brutus, Cassius, and Seneca, either out of malignity of mind, or corruption of manners and judgment. That he did so is certain; and whatever his motives were, the thing in itself can never be for his honour.

He composed, as we have said, fourscore books of the Roman history; but only a very small part of that great work is come down to us. For the first thirty-four books are lost, with the greatest part of the thirty-fifth, except some fragments. The twenty that follow, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are the part that remain entire. Vossius believes that the six following, which

which come down to the death of Claudius, are also perfect. But Bucherius maintains, that they are much otherwise; which seems very probable. We have only some fragments of the last twenty.

This defect is something supplied by an abridgment of Dion from the thirty-fifth book, the time of Pompey, to the end, composed by Johannes Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople in the eleventh century. This epitome is found to be sufficiently just, Xiphilinus having added nothing to Dion, except in some very few places, where it was necessary, and having generally made use of his own words. The history of Zonarus may also be called an abridgment of Dion: for he follows him faithfully, and sometimes informs us of things omitted by Xiphilinus.

HERODIAN.

Nothing is known of the life of Herodian, except that he was of Alexandria, the son of a Rhetorician named Apollonius *Dyscolos*, or the *Rigid*, and that he followed his father's profession. He is much known by his history of the emperors in eight books from the death of M. Aurelius to those of Maximus and Balbinus. He assures us himself, that his history of those sixty years, is that of his own times, and what he had seen himself. He had borne different offices both in the court, and civil government of Rome, which had given him a share in several of the events which he relates.

As to his history, Photius judges much in his favour. For he tells us that it is perspicuous, lofty and agreeable; that his diction is just and sober, observing the medium between the affected elegance of such as disdain simple and natural beauties, and the low and languid expression of those,

those, who either do not know, or despise, the delicacy and refinements of art; that he does not aim at a false agreeable by multiplying words or things, and omits nothing necessary; in a word, that he gives place to few authors for all the beauties of history. Politian's translation of Herodian's work happily sustains, and almost equals the elegance of the original. The French version of it, which the Abbé Mongaut has given the public, rises much upon the Latin.

EUNAPIUS.

EUNAPIUS was of Sardis in Lydia, and came A.D. 363. to Athens at the age of sixteen. He studied eloquence under Proæresus the Christian sophist, and magic under Chrysantus, who had married his cousin. Eunapius's lives of the sophists of the fourth century is extant. There is abundance of circumstances in it relating to the history of that time. He begins with Plotinus, who appeared in the middle of the third century, and goes on to Porphyrius, Jamblichus, and his disciples, upon whom he expatiates particularly. He also wrote an history of the Emperors in fourteen books, which began in the year 268, in the reign of Claudius the successor of Gallienus, and ended at the death of Eudoxia the wife of Arcadius. Some fragments of this history have been preserved in the extracts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus upon embassies, and in Suidas. We find in them, that he was exceedingly exasperated against the Christian emperors, and especially against Constantine. The same spleen is observed to prevail in his lives of the sophists, especially against the monks. It is no wonder that a magician was an enemy to the Christian religion,

ZOSIMUS

ZOSIMUS.

A. D.
415.

ZOSIMUS, Count and Advocate Fiscal, lived in the time of Theodosius the younger. He wrote the history of the Roman emperors in six books. The first, which contains the succession of those princes from Augustus down to Probus, (for what relates to Dioclesian is lost) is extremely abridged. The other five are more diffuse, especially to the time of Theodosius the Great and his children. He goes no farther than the second siege of Rome by Alaric. The end of the sixth book is wanting. Photius praises his style. He says that Zosimus has almost only copied and abridged Eunapius's history ; which perhaps occasioned its being lost. He is no less exasperated than the other against the Christian emperors.

PHOTIUS.

PHOTIUS, Patriarch of Constantinople, lived in the ninth century. He was a person of immense erudition, and of still vaster ambition, which hurried him into horrible excesses, and occasioned infinite troubles in the church. But that is foreign to our present subject.

I have placed him amongst the Greek historians, and shall conclude my account of them with him, not because he composed an history in form, but because, in one of his works, he has given us extracts from a great number of historians, of whom many, without him, would be almost entirely unknown. This work is intitled *Bibliotheca*, or *Library*, and indeed it merits that name. Photius examines almost three hundred authors in it, and tells us their names, countries, times when they lived, works they composed, judgment to be passed on them in respect to style and character ; and sometimes even gives

gives us extracts of considerable length, or abridgments from them, which are to be found only in this work. From hence we may judge of how great value he is to us.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Latin Historians.

I Shall not say much upon the feeble beginnings, and, to use the expression, the infancy of the Roman history. Every body knows that it consisted at first only of simple notes or memorandums drawn up by the * *Pontifex maximus*, who regularly set down every year whatever passed of most considerable in the state, either in war or peace; and this custom, established very early at Rome, subsisted to the time of P. Mucius the Pontifex Maximus, that is to say, to the year of Rome 629, or 631. The name of *the Great Annals* were given to these memoirs.

We may suppose, that in those early times these records were wrote in a very simple and even gross style. The † pontiffs contented themselves with setting down the principal events, the times and places wherein they happened, the names and condition of the persons who had the greatest share in them, in a plain manner without regard to ornament.

* Erat historia nihil aliud nisi Annalium confectio: cujus rei, memorieque publicæ retinendæ causa, ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium Pontificem maximum res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex maximus—qui etiam nunc *Annales*

maximi nominantur. Cic. l. 2. de Orat. n. 52.

† Sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt—Non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt. *Ibid.* n. 54.

However

However rude and imperfect these annals were, they were of great importance; because there were no other monuments to preserve the memory of all that passed at Rome; and it was a || great loss, when most of them were destroyed at the burning of the city by the Gauls.

Some years after history began to quit this gross antique garb, and to appear in public with more decency. The poets were the first who conceived the design of improving and adorning it. NÆVIUS composed a poem upon the first Punic war, and ENNIUS wrote the annals of Rome in heroic verse.

History at length assumed a regular form, and appeared in prose. Q. FABIUS PICTOR is the most antient of the Latin historians: he lived in the time of the second Punic war. L. CINCIUS Alimentus was his cotemporary. Livy cites them both with praise. It is believed that they wrote their histories first in Greek, and then in Latin. Cincius certainly wrote the history of Gorgias the celebrated rhetorician in the latter language.

CATO the Cenfor (M. Portius Cato) has a juster title than them to the name of Latin historian: for it is certain that he wrote his history in that tongue. It consisted of seven books, and was intitled *Origines*, because in the second and third books he related the origin of all the cities of Italy. We find that Cicero set a great value on this history. *Jam vero Origines ejus (Catonis) quem florem, aut quod lumen eloquentiæ non habent?* But upon Brutus's judging this praise excessive, he put a restriction to it by adding, That nothing was wanting to the writings of Cato, and the strokes of his

Cornel.
Nepos. in
fragm.

In Brut.
n. 66.

|| Si quæ in commentariis incensa urbe pleraque interierunt. Liv. l. 6. n. 1.
Pontificum, aliisque publicis
privatisque erant monumentis,

pencil,

pencil, but a certain lively glow of colours, not discovered in his time : *Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis nisi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, 258. florem & colorem defuisse.* Ibid. n.

L. PISO FRUGI, furnamed Calpurnius, is also cited amongst those antient historians. He was tribune of the people in the consulship of Censorinus and Manlius, in the 605th year of Rome. He was also several times consul. He was a civilian, orator, and historian; and had composed harangues, which were no longer in being in Cicero's time, with annals, of a style mean enough in that orator's opinion. Pliny speaks more advantageously of them.

The * true character of all these writers was great simplicity. They did not yet know what delicacy, beauty, and ornament of speech were. They were satisfied with making their readers understand them, and confined themselves to a close and succinct style.

I proceed now to the historians better known, and whose writings are come down to us.

SALLUST.

It is not without reason that Sallust has been called the first of the Roman historians :

Crispus Romana primus in historia. Martial.

and that he has been believed equal to Thucydides, so generally esteemed amongst the Greek historians : *Nec opponere Thucydidæ Sullustium verear.* But Quintil. without determining their ranks here, which would not become me to do, it suffices to consider Sallust

* Qualis apud Græcos Phœcydes, Hellanicus, Acusilaus fuit; tales noster Cato, & Pictor, & Piso: qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornatur ora-

tio; (modò enim huc ista sunt importata) &, dum intelligatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 53.

as one of the most excellent historians of antiquity. The reader may find very solid reflections upon his character in the preface to the *French* translation of this historian.

The prevailing quality of his writings, and that which characterizes Sallust in a more peculiar and singular manner, is the brevity of his style, which Quintilian calls *Immortalem Sallustii velocitatem*. Scaliger is the only one, who denies him this praise: but, as I have already observed, he is almost always odd and singular in his judgments.

This brevity of Sallust proceeds from the lively vigour of his genius. He thinks strongly and nobly, and writes as he thinks. His style may be compared to those rivers, which whilst they flow within narrower banks than others, are deeper, and carry greater burthen.

The language in which he wrote was extremely adapted to a close diction, and thereby favoured him in following the bent of his genius. It has, as well as the Greek, the advantage of being equally susceptible of the two opposite extremes. In Cicero it gives us a numerous, flowing, periodic style: in Sallust, a short, broken, precipitate one. The latter often suppresses words, and leaves the care of supplying them to his reader. He throws many terms and phrases together, without any conjunctions, which gives a kind of impetuosity to his discourse. He makes no scruple to use old words in his history, so they are but shorter, or have more energy than the terms in fashion; a liberty for which he was * reproached in his lifetime, as the following antient couplet shews:

*Et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis
Crispe, Jugurthinæ conditor historiæ.*

But he especially makes great use of metaphors,

* Sallustii novandi studium multa cum invidia fuit. *Aul. Gell.* l. 4. c. 15.

and does not choose the most modest, and least glowing, as the masters of the art declare necessary, but the most concise, the strongest, the most lively, and the most bold.

By all these methods, and others, which I omit, Sallust has succeeded in framing himself an entirely particular style, and one that suits him only. He quits the common road, but without going out of his way, and by paths that only shorten it. He seems not to think like other men; and yet good sense is the source of all his thoughts. His ideas are natural and reasonable: but all natural and reasonable as they are, they have the advantage of being new, *from being peculiarly curious and exquisite.*

We know not which to admire most in this excellent author, his descriptions, characters, or harangues: for he succeeds alike in them all; and we cannot discern upon what foundation Seneca the elder, or rather Cassius Severus, whose opinion he repeats, could say, that the harangues of Sallust are suffered only upon account of his history: *in honorem Historiarum leguntur.* Nothing can be added to their force, spirit, and eloquence. It is highly probable that the passage in question is not applied to the harangues inserted by Sallust in his history, but to those he spoke in the senate, or to some pleadings of his. When we read in the history of the Jugurthine war, the account of a fort surprized by a Ligurian soldier of Marius's army, we seem to see him climb up and down along the steep rocks, and even to climb up and down along with him, the description is so lively and animated.

We find five or six characters in Sallust, which are so many master-pieces; and I do not know whether there be any thing in the whole extent of literature of a beauty that approaches nearer the idea of perfection. I shall repeat two of them in this place, from which the reader may judge of the rest.

Character of CATILINE.

L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi & animi & corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ, supra quàm cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cujuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulator : alieni appetens, sui profusus ; ardens in cupiditatibus. Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat.

“ L. Catilina was of noble birth, and of great
 “ strength both of body and mind, but of a dis-
 “ position highly corrupt and depraved. From his
 “ earliest years, intestine wars, murders, rapine,
 “ and civil discord were his delight, and the usual
 “ exercises of his youth. He bore hunger, cold,
 “ watching and fatigues, with a patience not cre-
 “ dible of any body. He was bold, deceitful,
 “ inconstant, and capable of assuming and dis-
 “ guising any thing : greedy of another’s, profuse
 “ of his own, and violent in all his appetites. He
 “ had eloquence enough, but little wisdom. His
 “ vast spirit, his boundless ambition, perpetual-
 “ ly affected and coveted things of an excessive,
 “ incredible, too lofty nature.

Character of SEMPRONIA.

In his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit : Literis Græcis & Latinis docta : psallere, saltare elegantius, quàm necesse est probæ : multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt, sed ei cariora semper omnia, quàm decus atque pudicitia fuit. Pecuniæ an famæ minus parceret, haud faciliè discerneres—Ingenium ejus

ejus haud absurdum : posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci. Prorsus multæ facetiæ, multusque lepos inerat.

“ Of this number was Sempronia, who had in
 “ many things frequently instanced a masculine
 “ boldness of genius for vice. This woman was
 “ sufficiently happy in her person and birth, as
 “ well as in her husband and children: She was
 “ well read in the Greek and Roman learning :
 “ could sing and dance with more elegance than
 “ was necessary for a matron of virtue ; and had
 “ besides many of those qualities, that minister to
 “ luxury and render vice amiable, on which she
 “ ever set an higher value than upon the decency
 “ and chastity of her sex. It was not easy to say
 “ whether she was less frugal of her money or of her
 “ reputation. Her wit was by no means disagreeable : she could make verses, jest agreeably,
 “ and converse either with modesty and tenderness,
 “ or tartness and freedom : but in whatever
 “ she said there was always abundance of spirit
 “ and humour”.

There are abundance of admirable passages in Sallust, especially when he compares the antient manners of the commonwealth with those of his own times. When we hear him speak strongly, as is usual enough with him, against luxury, debauch, and the other vices of his age, one would take him for a man of the strictest life and greatest probity in the world. But we must not conclude so from so plausible an appearance. His conduct was so immoral, that it occasioned his being expelled the senate by the censors.

Besides the wars of Catiline and Jugurtha, Sallust wrote a general history of the events that happened during a certain number of years, of which amongst other fragments there are several perfectly fine discourses.

L I V Y.

The Latin preface to the new edition of Livy, of which Mr. Crevier professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais has lately published two volumes, would supply me with the little I intend to say here of this excellent historian. If I was less Mr. Crevier's friend, who insists absolutely upon my declaring him my pupil, which I think highly for my honour, I should expatiate upon the usefulness and merit of his work. The preface of it alone is sufficient to inform the reader what value he ought to set upon it.

The more earnestly we desire to know an author famous for his writings, the more we regret, that little or nothing more than his name is come down to us. Livy is one of those authors who have rendered their names immortal, but whose lives and actions are little known. He was born at Padua, in the consulship of Piso and Gabinius, fifty-eight years before the Christian Æra. He had a son, to whom he wrote a letter upon education and the studies proper for youth, which Quintilian mentions in more than one place, and of which we ought very much to regret the loss. It is in this letter, or rather short treatise, that he says in respect to the authors proper to be recommended to the reading of youth, that they ought first to study Demosthenes and Cicero, and next such as resemble those excellent orators most: *Legendos Demosthenem*

Quintil.

l. 10. c. 1.

atque Ciceronem, tum ita ut quisque esset Demostheni & Ciceroni simillimus. He speaks, in the same letter, of a * rhetorician who disapproved the compositions of his pupils, when they were perspicuous and

* Apud Titum Livium invenio fuisse præceptorem aliquem, qui discipulos obscurare quæ dicerent juberet, Græco

verbo utens, σκότισον. Unde illa scilicet egregia laudatio: *Tanto melior; ne ego quidem intellexi.* Quintil. l. 8. c. 2.

intelligible;

intelligible, and made them correct them, as he called it, by throwing obscurity into them. When they had retouched them in this manner, he would say, *Ay, this now is much better, I understand nothing of it myself.* Could one believe so ridiculous an extravagance possible? Livy also composed some philosophical works and dialogues, in which philosophy had a part.

But his great work was the Roman history in an hundred and forty, or an hundred and forty-two books, from the foundation of Rome to the death and funeral of Drusus, which happened in the 743^d year of Rome, and in consequence included that number of years. We find, from some dates in his history, that he employed the whole time between the battle of Actium and the death of Drusus in composing it, that is to say about one and twenty years. But he published it from time to time in parts; and this was what acquired him so great a reputation at Rome, and the honourable visit of a stranger from the remotest part of Spain, who took so long a journey only for the sake of seeing him. The capital of the world had enough to engage and satisfy the eyes of a curious person in the magnificence of its buildings, and the multitude of its paintings, statues, and antient monuments. But this stranger found nothing so rare and precious in Rome as Livy. After having enjoyed his conversation at pleasure, and entertained himself agreeably with reading his history, he returned with joy and content to his own country. And this is knowing the value of men.

Nothing more is known of what regards Livy personally. He passed a great part of his life at Rome, esteemed and honoured by the Great as he deserved. He died in his country at the age of threescore and sixteen, in the fourth year of the

reign of Tiberius. The people of Padua have honoured his memory in all times, and pretend to have actually preserved amongst them some remains of his body, and to have made a present in the year 1451 of one of his arms to Alphonso V king of Arragon, at least the inscription says so.

It were much more to be wished, that they had preserved his history. Only thirty-five books of it are come down to us, which is not the fourth part of the work, and even some of them imperfect. What a loss is this ! The Learned have flattered themselves from time to time with some faint hopes of recovering the rest, which seem solely founded in their great desire of them.

Johannes Freinshemius has endeavoured to console the public for this loss by his *Supplements* ; and has succeeded in it as far as was possible. FREIN-SHEMIUS, born at Ulm in Suabia in 1608, studied at Strasburgh with great success. In 1642 he was invited into Sweden, where he filled several considerable employments of literature. Upon his return into his country, he was made honorary professor in the university established by the elector Palatine at Heidelburgh, where he died in 1660. The commonwealth of letters have infinite obligations to him for having rendered Livy the same service as he had before done Quintius Curtius, by filling up all we have lost of that great writer of the Roman history with an hundred and five books of Supplements, Mr. Doujat also filled up the deficient places in the last books which remain of Livy, but with very different success. Mr. Crevier has revised and retouched Freinshemius's supplements in several places, and worked those of Doujat entirely anew. By these means we have a continued and compleat body of the Roman history ; I mean that of the commonwealth.

It is doubted whether Livy himself divided his his history from ten to ten books, that is to say into decads. However that may be, that division seems commodious enough.

In respect to the epitomes in the front of each book, the learned do not believe them either done by Livy or Florus. Whoever the author was, they have their use, as they serve to shew, of what the books we have lost, treated.

Let us now examine the work in itself. There reigns in it, considered in all its parts, an eloquence perfect, and perfect in every kind. In the narrations, descriptions, speeches, the style, though varied to infinity, sustains itself equally every where: simple without meanness, elegant and florid without affectation, great and sublime without tumour, flowing or concise, and full of sweetness or force, according to the exigency of the matter; but always clear and intelligible, which is not the meanest praise of history.

Pollio *, who was of a refined taste that it was difficult to please, pretended he discovered *Patavinity* in the style of Livy: that is to say some words or turns of phrase which favoured of the country of Padua. A man born there might retain, if we may be allowed the expression, some smatch of the soil, and might not have all the refinement and delicacy of the Roman *urbanity*, which was not so easily communicated to strangers, as the freedom of the city. But this is what we can now neither perceive nor understand.

This reproach of *Patavinity* has not hindered † Quintilian from equalling Livy with Herodotus, which

* In Tito Livio miræ facundiae viro putat inesse Pollio Asinius quendam Patavinitalatem. Quare, si fieri potest, & verba omnia, & vox, hujus alumnus urbis oleant: ut o-

ratio Romana planè videatur, non civitate donata. *Quin'il.* l. 8. c. 1.

† Nec indignetur sibi Herodotus æquari Titum Livium, cum in narrando miræ jucunditatis

which is giving him great praise. He makes us observe the sweet and flowing style of his narrations, and the supreme eloquence of his harangues, wherein the characters of the persons he introduces speaking, are sustained with all possible exactness, and the passions, especially the soft and tender, are treated with wonderful art. All however that Livy could do, was to attain, by qualities entirely different, to the immortal reputation which Sallust acquired by his inimitable brevity : for these two historians have with reason been said rather to be equal, than like each other, *pares magis, quam similes*.

It is not only by his eloquence, and the beauty and spirit of his narration, that Livy acquired the reputation he has enjoyed for so many ages. He recommended himself no less by his fidelity, a virtue so necessary and desirable in an historian. Neither the fear of displeasing the powerful of his times, nor the desire of making his court to them, prevented him from telling the truth. He spoke in his history with praise of the greatest enemies of the house of the Cæsars, as of Pompey, Brutus, Cassius and others ; and Augustus took no offence at it : so that we know not which most to admire, the moderation of the prince, or the generous freedom of the historian. In the thirty-five books that remain of Livy, he mentions Augustus only twice, and that too with a reserve and sobriety of praise, which reproaches those flattering, self-interested writers, who, without discretion or measure, are so lavish of an incense to office and dignity, due only to merit and virtue.

Tacit.
Annal.

l. 4. c. 24.

Lib. 1.

n. 19, &

l. 4. n. 20.

ditatis clarissimique candoris, tum in concionibus supra quam dici potest eloquentem : ita dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum personis accommodata. Sed affectus quidem, præcipue eos qui sunt dulciores, ut par-

cissime dicam, nemo historicorum commendavit magis. Ideoque immortalem illam Sallustii velocitatem diversis virtutibus consecutus est. *Quin.*
l. 10. c. 1.

If any defect may be imputed to Livy, it is his over-fondness for his country : a rock he has not always taken care enough to avoid. Whilst he perpetually admires the greatness of the Romans, he not only exaggerates their exploits, successes, and virtues ; but disguises and diminishes their vices, and the faults they commit.

Seneca the Elder reproaches Livy with having expressed a mean jealousy of Sallust, in accusing him of stealing a sentence from Thucydides, and of having maimed it by translating it ill. What probability is there that Livy, who copied whole books from Polybius, should make it a crime in Sallust to copy a single sentence, that is to say a line, or part of one ? Besides which it is perfectly well rendered. *Δεινὰ γὰρ ἐν πρᾶξι συνκρύψαι καὶ συσκέσαι τὰ ἐλάττω ἀμαρτήματα.* *Res secundæ mirè sunt vitii obtentui.* And how shall we reconcile this accusation with what the same Seneca says in another place : That Livy judged with the utmost equity and candor of the works of the learned ? *Id. suafor.*
Ut est natura candidissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum æstimator T. Livius. I believe we may rely upon this last testimony. 7. 6.

There is another complaint against him of a much more serious and important kind. He is taxed with ingratitude, and want of fidelity, either in not having named Polybius, or for having done it with too much indifference, in places where he copied him word for word. I should be sorry if this reproach could be made with good foundation : for it affects the qualities of the heart, of which the honest man ought to be very jealous. But is it not probable, that he did speak of Polybius with praise in the other parts of his history not come down to us, that he did him all the justice due to his merit, and declared beforehand, that he made it his glory, and thought it his duty, to
 copy

copy him word for word in many places, and that he should often do so without citing him, to avoid repeating the same thing too often? My own interest is a little concerned here: for in this point I have some occasion for the reader's indulgence.

This kind of blots observed in Livy have not however impaired his glory. Posterity on account of them has not admired his work the less, not only as a master-piece of eloquence, but as an history, which every where inculcates the love of justice and virtue; wherein we find, mingled with his narration, the soundest maxims for the conduct of life, with a singular attachment and respect, that shines out every where, for the religion established at Rome when he wrote; (unfortunately for him it was false, but he knew no other;) in fine, a generous boldness and pious zeal in condemning with force the impious sentiments of the unbelievers of his age. *Nondum hæc*, says he in a passage of *Lib. 3. n. 20. quæ nunc tenet seculum, negligentia deum venerat: nec interpretando sibi quisque iusjurandum & leges aptas faciebat, sed suos potius mores ad ea accommodabat.* “The contempt of the
“ gods, so common in our age, was not yet
“ known. Oaths and the laws were the rules to
“ which people conformed their conduct, and the
“ art of adapting them to their own conveniency
“ by illusive interpretations was then unknown.”

From what I have now said, it seems reasonable to justify Livy in respect to the pretended superstition, with which he affects to relate such a number of miracles and prodigies equally ridiculous and incredible. The faith of history required, that he should not suppress things said to have happened before him, which he found in his own collections and the annals, and which made a part of the religion commonly received in those times, though perhaps he did not believe them himself.

And

And he * explains himself on this head often and clearly enough, attributing most of the pretended prodigies, which made so much noise, to an ignorant and credulous superstition.

C Æ S A R.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR distinguished himself no less by his wit than his valour. He applied first to the bar, where he made a great figure. † Only the desire of attaining the first rank in the commonwealth in respect to power, prevented him from disputing also the first rank at the bar in respect to eloquence. His peculiar character was force and vehemence. The same fire which he made appear in battle, is discernible in his writings. To this vigour of style he added great purity and elegance of language, which he had made his peculiar study, and upon which he piqued himself more than any other Roman.

He composed many works, amongst others two Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 10. books upon the analogy of the Latin tongue. Who could believe, that so great a warriour as Cæsar should employ himself seriously in composing tracts upon Grammar? How different are our manners and inclinations from those of that age! It is in one of these books upon analogy, that he recommended avoiding new and unusual expressions, as rocks: *tanquam scopulum, sic fugias insolens verbum.*

* Romæ, aut circa urbem, multa ea hieme prodigia facta, aut (quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis) multa nunciata & temerè credita sunt. *Lib. 21. n. 62.*

Cumis (adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inferit deos) mures in æde Jovis aurum rofisse nunciatum est. *Lib. 27. n. 23.*

† C. vero Cæsar, si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat. Exornat tamen hæc omnia mira sermonis, cujus proprie studiosus fuit, elegantia. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

There

There were several pleadings of his also extant. * Besides the elegance of his Latinity, which is necessary, says Atticus, or rather Cicero, not only to every orator, but every Roman citizen of condition, he adds all the ornaments of art, but principally a wonderful talent in painting objects, and placing things in all their light.

Only two of Cæsar's works remain ; his seven books of the war with the Gauls, and his three of the civil war. They are properly speaking only memoirs, and he made them public only as such : *Commentarii*. He † wrote them hastily, and even in the midst of his expeditions ; solely with the view of leaving materials to writers, for composing an history. The perspicuity and elegance of style, natural to him, are certainly evident in them : but he has neglected all the shining ornaments a genius so happy as his could have diffused throughout a work of that nature. || All simple and negligent as it may appear, says Hirtius, it is however generally agreed, that no other work, however laboured and polished, can come up to the beauty of Cæsar's Commentaries. His design was only to supply those with materials, who might undertake to compose an history from them in form. “ In which, “ says Cicero, he may have pleased writers of “ mean parts, who will not fear disfiguring his “ natural graces with trivial ornament : but every “ man of sense will be far from touching or altering them in any manner whatsoever. For no-

* Cum, inquit Atticus, ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum (quæ etiam si orator non sis, & sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est) adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi : tum videtur tanquam tabulas bene pictas collocare in bono lumine. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 252.

† Cæteri quàm bene atque emendatè, nos etiam quàm faciliè atque celeriter eos confecerit, scimus. *Hirt. Præf.* l. 8. *de Bell. Gall.*

|| Constat inter omnes nihil tam operosè ab aliis esse perfectum, quod non horum elegantia Commentariorum superetur. *Hirt. ibid.*

“ thing

“ thing in history gives so much pleasure as so clear
 “ and elegant a brevity of style.” *Dum voluit
 alios habere parata unde sumerent, qui vellent scribere
 historiam, ineptis fortasse gratum fecit, qui volent illa
 calamistris inurere; sanos quidem homines à scribendo
 deterruit. Nihil enim est in Historia, pura & illustri
 brevitate dulcius.* Hirtius has the same thought in
 respect to writers who should conceive thoughts of
 composing an history from Cæsar’s Commentaries.
 “ He certainly supplies them with the means, says
 “ he; but if they are wise, those very means
 “ ought for ever to prevent their having such a
 “ thought.” *Adeo probantur omnium judicio, ut
 prærepta non præbita facultas scriptoribus videatur.*
 Mr. Ablancourt’s translation of Cæsar’s Commen-
 taries is very much esteemed. It might be im-
 proved, if some able hand would retouch it in some
 places.

Cæsar had undoubtedly great wit and the most
 happy natural parts: * but he had also taken pains
 to cultivate them by assiduous study, and to enrich
 them with all that was most curious and exquisite
 in literature; by which means he arrived at excel-
 ling almost all the most eloquent orators of Rome
 in purity of language and delicacy of style. I
 purposely make this remark after Cicero, to excite
 our young nobility to follow so good an example,
 in uniting with the praise of valour that of fine
 sense and polite knowledge. I have seen young
 Englishmen of distinction, who have done me the
 honour of a visit, that were well read in the learn-
 ing of the Greeks and Romans, and no less versed
 in history. In these points jealousy, or, to speak
 more justly, emulation, is laudable between nation

* Audio (inquit Atticus)
 Cæsarem omnium ferè orato-
 rum latinè loqui elegantissimè
 —Et ut esset perfecta illa
 bene loquendi laus, multis li-

teris, & iis quidem reconditis
 & exquisitis, summoque studio
 & diligentia est consecutus.
Cic. in Brut. n. 252, 253.

and nation. The French youth are inferior to none in vivacity and solidity of genius. In my opinion, they ought to pique themselves upon not giving place in any thing to strangers, and in not abandoning to them the glory of erudition and fine taste.

This is what Cæsar seems to exhort them. His Commentaries ought always to be in their hands. It is the soldier's book. The greatest generals in all times have made him their master. The reading of these memoirs have been always their employment and delight. They find in them the rules of the art military, whether in sieges or battles, reduced to practice. They may learn also there, the manner of composing memoirs, which is no vulgar talent. It were to be wished, that all generals would regularly set down all the operations of the campaigns in which they command. What an assistance would that be to historians, and what a light to posterity! Is there any thing more valuable than the memoirs of the Marshal Turenne printed in the second volume of his life, or than those of James II. king of England, then Duke of York?

Hirtius finished what Cæsar could not. The eighth book of the war with the Gauls is his, as well as those of the war of Alexandria, and that of Africa. It is doubted whether he is the author of the book which treats of the war in Spain.

Mr. Ablancourt's translation of Cæsar, as well as of Tacitus, is very good in many things, but wants retouching in many places.

PATERCULUS.

Caius, or *Publius*, or *Marcus VELLEIUS PATERCULUS* flourished in the reign of Tiberius. A. D. 15. There is great reason to believe that he was born in the 735th year of Rome. His ancestors were illustri-

ous by their merit and offices. He was a tribune in the Vell. Pat. army, when Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, ^{l. 20 c. 101} had an interview with the king of Parthia in an island of the Euphrates. He had a command in ^{Ib. c. 104.} the cavalry under Tiberius, and attended that prince nine years successively in all his expeditions, who rewarded him honourably. He was raised to the ^{Ib. c. 124.} prætorship the same year Augustus died.

The time when he began to write his history is not known, nor what it contained. The beginning of it is lost. What is come down to us of it is a fragment of the antient Greek history with that of the Romans, from the defeat of Perseus to the sixteenth year of Tiberius. He addressess it to M. Vincius, who was consul at that time, and promised one of greater extent. His travels into different regions might have furnished him with very agreeable and curious facts.

His style is highly worthy of the age in which he lived, which was still that of fine taste and pure language. He excels principally in the characters of men, some of which I shall cite at the end of this article.

His narration is judged to be faithful and sincere down to the time of the Cæsars, and in such facts as do not concern them. For, from thenceforth, the desire of flattering Tiberius makes him either omit, disguise, or alter the truth in various instances. He accuses Germanicus of cowardice, or ^{Lib. 2.} rather of a too soft complacency for the seditious, ^{c. 125.} whilst he gives many others excessive praises. *Quo quidem tempore—pleraque * ignave Germanicus.*

He is justly reproached with having given Tiberius excessive praises. His unfair evasions of offending that emperor appear, as I have already

* A learned commentator (Dionysius) believes this passage corrupt, and that gnave ought to be read. But to correct a text in such a manner, contrary to the faith of manuscripts, is only to guess.

said, in the care he takes to run slightly over the glorious actions of Germanicus, to suppress most of them, and to attack the fame of Agrippina, and other persons hated by Tiberius.

Lib. 2.
c. 116.

But he is still more unpardonable, for loading Sejanus with praises, who occasioned so many misfortunes to the empire, and for having represented him as one of the most virtuous personages the Roman commonwealth had ever produced. *Sejanus, vir antiquissimi moris, & prisca gravitatem humanitate temperans.*

Lib. 2. c.
127, 128.

This is nothing to the panegyric he bestows upon him in the sequel. “ He previously laid down by
“ many examples the necessity princes were under
“ of assistance in their government, and of associating coadjutors to divide with them the weight
“ of public affairs.” *Rarò eminentes viri non magnis adjutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam suam usi sunt—Etenim magna negotia magnis adjutoribus egent.* Who doubts it? but the question is to make a good choice. He proceeds then to Sejanus, and after having exalted the splendor of his birth, he represents him “ as a man, who knows
“ how to temper the severity of power with an
“ air of sweetness, and the chearful serenity of the
“ antients ; who transacts the most weighty affairs
“ with all the ease of leisure ; who assumes nothing
“ to himself and thereby attains every thing ; who
“ always is less in his own opinion than in that of
“ the public ; whose aspect and behaviour appear
“ calm and tranquil, whilst the cares of the state
“ afford him no rest. In which judgment of his
“ merits, the court and the city, the prince and
“ the people, contend with each other.” *Virum severitatis lætissimæ, hilaritatis priscae ; actu otiosis simillimum ; nihil sibi vendicantem, eoque assequentem omnia ; semper infra aliorum æstimationes se metientem ; vultu vitæque tranquillum, animo exsomnem. In*

hujus virtutum æstimationem jampridem judicia civitatis cum judiciis principis certant. How great was his love of the public good, if we may believe his historian ! What application to business ! What zeal for the interests of the prince and state ! How amiable his character under the oppressive weight of the public business ! What moderation, and in a word, what an assemblage of the greatest virtues, attested by the unanimous voices of all the world !

In order to know what we are to think of them, let us consider a second picture of the same Sejanus drawn by another master, who did not receive hire from him, and was never suspected of flattery. This was Tacitus, of whom we shall soon speak. *Sejanus Tiberium variis artibus devinxit adeo, ut ob-* Tacit. Ann. l. 4. c. 1.
scurum adversus alios, sibi uni incautum intellectumque

efficeret : non tam solertia, (quippe iisdem artibus victus est) quàm deum ira in rem Romanam ; cujus pari exitio viguit, ceciditque. Corpus illi laborum tolerans ; animus audax, sui obtegens ; in alios criminator : juxta adulatio & superbia ; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, ejusque causa modò largitio & luxus, sæpe industria ac vigilantia, haud minùs noxiæ quotiens parando regno finguntur.

“ Sejanus by various arts gained the ascendant of
“ Tiberius so far, that though that prince was
“ gloomy and impenetrable to every body else, he
“ disguised nothing, and kept no secret from him ;
“ which is not so much to be ascribed to the craft
“ and address of that minister, (for he fell by the
“ same arts of cunning and deceit himself) as to
“ the anger of the gods against the Roman empire,
“ to which his power and fall were equally
“ pernicious. He had strength of body to support
“ great fatigues : the character of his mind
“ was presumption, disguise, and malignity in
“ calumniating others. He was at the same time
“ a flatterer to the lowest degree of meanness, and
“ haughty to excess : his outside wore the appearance
V O L. XII. O “ pearance

“pearance of great modesty and reserve ; within
 “the lust of gain and ambition wholly engrossed
 “him. His means for the attainment of his
 “ends were luxury and corruption, and sometimes
 “vigilance and application, no less dangerous,
 “when assumed for usurping empire.”

To say every thing in a word, Sejanus, so much extolled by Paterculus, was the scourge of the divine wrath against the Roman empire : *desum irâ in rem Romanam*. Persons in high stations, who have the dispensation of graces and advantages, may judge from hence of the value they ought to set upon the praises lavished upon them so immoderately, and often with so little shame.

I have said before that Paterculus excelled particularly in the characters of men. Some of them are short, which are not the least beautiful ; and many of greater extent. I shall repeat here some examples of both.

MARIUS.

Lib. 2.
c. 9.

Hirtus atque horridus, vitæque sanctus ; quantum bello optimus, tantum pace pessimus ; immodicus gloriæ, insatiabilis, impotens, semperque inquietus. “Marius had something savage and horrid in his nature : his manners were austere, but irreproachable : excellent in war, detestable in peace ; greedy, or rather insatiable of glory ; violent, and incapable of rest.”

SYLLA.

Lib. 2.
c. 25.

Adeo Sylla dissimilis fuit bellator ac victor, ut, dum vincit, justissimo lenior ; post victoriam, audito fuerit crudelior. “Nothing was more different than Sylla at war, and Sylla victorious. In the field, he was milder than the justest ; after the victory, more cruel than the most barbarous.”

MITHRIDATES.

*Mitbridates, Ponticus rex : vir neque silendus, ne- Lib. 2.
que dicendus, sine cura. Bello acerrimus, virtute c. 18.
eximius ; aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus :
consiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Annibal.*
“ Mithridates, king of Pontus, of whom it is dif-
“ ficult either to speak or to be silent. Most ex-
“ pert in war, of extraordinary valour ; some-
“ times very great by fortune, always by magna-
“ nimity : in counsels a general, in execution a sol-
“ dier, in hatred to the Romans an Hannibal.”

MÆCENAS.

*C. Mæcenas, equestri sed splendido genere natus : Lib. 2.
vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sanè exsomnis, provi- c. 88.
dens, atque agendi sciens ; simul verò aliquid ex nego-
tio remitti posset, otio ac mollitiis penè ultra feminam
fluens.* “ Mæcenas descended from an Equestrian,
“ but illustrious and antient family. Where vigilance
“ was necessary, he was able, provident, and active,
“ without allowing himself rest. But as soon as
“ affairs would admit of relaxation, he gave him-
“ self up to the charms of ease and voluptuousness
“ with almost more than female softness.”

SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS.

*P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani pa- Lib. 1.
ternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus c. 12.
belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminen-
tissimus seculi sui : qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut
fecit, aut dixit, ac sensit—Tam elegans liberalium Ib. c. 13.
studiorum omnisque doctrinæ auctor & admirator fuit,
ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros,
domi militiæque secum habuerit. Neque enim quis-
quam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio
○ 2 dispunxit :*

dispunxit : semperque aut belli aut pacis servivit artibus ; semper inter arma ac studia versatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum disciplinis exercuit. “ P. Scipio Æmilianus, who perfectly resembled Scipio Africanus his grandfather, and Paulus Æmilius his father, in their virtues, was the most eminent person of his age for all the talents, natural and acquired, that could adorn peace or war ; a man, who never during his life either did, said, or thought any thing but what deserved praise. He was so great an admirer of polite learning and science in general, in which himself excelled, that he always had with him, as well at home as in the field, Polybius and Panætius, two of the most illustrious learned men of his time. No man knew how to apply the intervals of leisure from business with more elegance and taste than this Scipio : and as the arts of war or peace were his continual employments, between arms and books, he incessantly exercised either his body in the dangers and fatigues of the one, or his mind in the refined studies and speculations of the other.”

CATO OF UTICA.

Lib. 2.
c. 35.

M. Cato, genitus proavo M. Catone, principe illo familiæ Porciæ : homo virtuti simillimus, & per omnia ingenio diis quàm hominibus propior : qui nunquam rectè fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat ; cuique id solum visum est rationem habere, quod haberet justitiam : omnibus humanis vitiis immunis, semper fortunam in sua potestate habuit. “ Cato of Utica’s great grandfather was Cato the censor, that illustrious head of the Porcian family. He was in all things more like a God than a man, and seemed *virine itself in human shape*. He never did any thing virtuous for the sake of seeming virtuous, but because he
“ could

“ could not do otherwise ; and never thought any
 “ thing could have reason, that wanted justice.
 “ Exempt from all human vices, fortune, to which
 “ he never gave way, was in his power, and in a
 “ manner his slave.”

POMPEY.

Innocentia eximius, sanctitate præcipuus, eloquen- Lib. 2.
tia medius : potentia, quæ honoris causâ ad eum defer- c. 29.
retur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus. Dux
bello peritissimus ; civis in toga (nisi ubi vereretur ne
quem haberet parem) modestissimus. Amicitiarum
tenax, in offensis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia
fidelissimus, in accipienda satisfactione facillimus. Po-
tentia sua nunquam, aut rarò, ad impotentiam usus :
penè omnium vitiorum expers, nisi numeraretur inter
maxima, in civitate libera dominaque gentium indig-
nari, cum omnes cives jure haberet pares, quemquam
æqualem dignitate conspiciere. “ Pompey’s manners
 “ were blameless and noble, his probity supreme,
 “ his eloquence indifferent. He was extremely
 “ fond of power, when conferred upon him freely
 “ and for his honour, but not so much as to seize
 “ it by violence : a most able general in war, a
 “ most moderate citizen in peace, except when he
 “ apprehended having an equal. Tenacious in
 “ friendship, easy in forgiving injuries, most faith-
 “ ful in reconciliation, and far from rigid in ex-
 “ acting satisfaction. He never, or very rarely,
 “ employed his power in committing violence and
 “ oppression ; and might be said to be exempt
 “ from all vices, if it were not the greatest in a
 “ free state, the mistress of the world, where all
 “ the citizens were equal by right and constitution,
 “ to be incapable of suffering any equal in power
 “ and authority.”

CÆSAR.

Lib. 2.
c. 41.

Cæsar forma omnium civium excellentissimus, vigore animi acerrimus, munificentiae effusissimus, animo super humanam & naturam & fidem evectus : magnitudine consiliorum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum, Magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo simillimus : qui denique semper & somno & cibo in vitam non in voluptatem uteretur. “ Cæsar, besides
“ excelling all the Romans in the beauty of his
“ person, surpassed them still more in the force
“ and superiority of his genius, in munificence
“ and liberality to profusion, and in valour and
“ ability above either human nature or belief. The
“ greatness of his projects, the rapidity of his con-
“ quests, and his intrepid valour in confronting
“ dangers, make him entirely resemble Alexander
“ the Great, but Alexander sober, and free from
“ rage. Food and rest he used only for refresh-
“ ment, not for pleasure”.

TACITUS.

TACITUS (*C. Cornelius Tacitus*) was older than the younger Pliny, who was born in the year of Christ 61.

Vespasian first raised him to dignities, in which Titus continued him, and to which Domitian added greater. He was prætor in the reign of the latter, and in that of Nerva was substituted consul to Verginius Rufus, whose panegyric he composed.

A. D. 77, or 78. He married the daughter of Cn. Julius Agricola, famous for the conquest of Britain. He had been four years out of Rome with his wife, when Agricola died. Lipsius believes that Tacitus left children, because the emperor Tacitus said, he was descended from him or from the same family.

Plin. Ep.
1. 1. 2.

A. D.

77, or 78.

A. D. 93.

Vopisc. in

vit. Tacit.

Learning rendered Tacitus more illustrious than Plin. Ep. his dignities. He pleaded even after he had been ^{1. 11. 1. 2.} consul, with great reputation for eloquence, of which the peculiar character was weight and majesty. He had been highly esteemed from his first appearance.

Pliny the younger was one of his first admirers, Id. Ep. 2. and they contracted a great friendship with each ^{1. 7.} other. They mutually corrected each other's works; Id. Ep. 7. which is of great service to an author. This ^{1. 8.} experience every day with the utmost gratitude, and am conscious, that I owe the success of my labours to the like assistance of no less learned than affectionate friends.

It appears that Tacitus published some orations Id. Ep. or pleadings. He also composed some pieces in ^{10. 1. 9.} verse; and there is a letter of his amongst those of Pliny.

But he is only known in these days, by his historical writings, to which St. Sidonius tells us he did Sidon. Ep. not apply himself, till after he had endeavoured in ^{22. 1. 4.} vain to persuade Pliny to undertake his subject.

He composed his *description of Germany* during De Germ. Trajan's second consulship: at least there is room to ^{c. 37.} conjecture so.

The life of Agricola, his father-in-law, appears also from the preface to be one of his first works, and to be wrote in the beginning of Trajan's reign. He employs part of the preface in describing the tempestuous times of a cruel reign at enmity with all virtue: *Sæva & infesta virtutibus tempora*. This was that of Domitian. He concludes it with observing, that he dedicates that book to the glory of Agricola his father-in-law; and hopes that the respect and gratitude which induced him to undertake it, will either recommend it to favour, or be its excuse: *Hic interim liber honori Agricolæ soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excusatus.*

He then proceeds to his subject, and explains the principal circumstances and actions of his father-in-law's life. This piece is one of the finest and most valuable fragments of antiquity ; in which soldiers, courtiers, and magistrates may find excellent instructions.

Tacit.
Hist. l. 1.
c. 1.

The great work of Tacitus is that wherein he wrote the history of the emperors, beginning at the death of Galba, and concluding at that of Domitian : which is what we call his *Histories*. But of the twenty-eight years contained in this history, from the year sixty-nine to ninety-six, we have only the year sixty-nine and part of seventy. To compose this work, he asked memoirs of particular persons, as he did of Pliny the younger, concerning his uncle's death. Such as were desirous of being known to posterity sent him accounts without application, which we find from the same Pliny, who was in hopes of being immortalized by that means. The letters which he wrote him upon that head, seem to be of the year 102 or 103, from whence we may judge at what time Tacitus applied himself to that work.

Plin. Ep.
16. l. 6.

Id. Ep.
16, 20.
l. 6.

Tacit.
Hist. l. 1.
c. 1.

He intended, after having finished it, if God prolonged his life, to write also the history of Nerva and Trajan : happy times, says he, in which a man might think as he pleased, and speak as he thought. *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet.* But it does not appear that he executed this design.

Instead of that he resumed the Roman history from the death of Augustus to the reign of Galba ; and this is the part that he calls his *Annals*, because he endeavoured to introduce all the events under their respective years, which however he does not always observe in relating some wars.

Annal.

l. 1. c. 11.

In a passage of these annals, he refers to the history of Domitian, that he had wrote before : which shews that the *Histories* were prior to the

Annals,

Annals, though the latter are placed first. And it is observed that the style of his histories is more florid and diffuse than that of his annals, which is more grave and concise, without doubt, as he was naturally inclined to brevity, from his having grown stronger in that habit the more he wrote. Of the four emperors, whose history Tacitus wrote in his annals, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, only that of the first and last are come down to us almost entire : we however want three years of Tiberius, and the latter part of Nero's reign. Caligula is entirely lost, and we have only the end of Claudius.

He designed also to have wrote the history of Augustus : but St. Jerom seems to have known ^{Hieron.} nothing more of his, except what he treated of ^{Zachar.} from the death of that prince to that of Domitian, which, says he, made thirty books.

If what Quintilian says of a celebrated historian of his times, whom he does not name, is to be understood of Tacitus, as some authors have believed, it seems that he had been obliged to retrench some places in which he was too free and bold. The passage of Quintilian * says, " There is an historian who still lives for the glory of our age, and who deserves to live eternally in the remembrance of succeeding times. He will be called by his name hereafter, at present it suffices that we know him. This great man has admirers, but no imitators ; his freedom and love of truth having done him hurt, notwithstanding his having suppressed part of his writings. In what remains however, we perfectly discern

* Superest adhuc, & exornat ætatis nostræ gloriam, vir seculorum memoria dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intelligitur. Habet amatores nec imitatores, ut libertas, quan-

quam circumcisis quæ dixisset, ei nocuerit ; sed elatum abunde spiritum & audaces sententias deprehendas etiam in iis quæ manent. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

“ the elevation of his genius, and his bold and
“ noble manner of thinking.”

Vopisc. in
vit. Tacit.
Imper.

It is a misfortune that we are no better informed in the circumstances of the life of so illustrious a writer : Nor do we know any thing in respect to his death. The emperor Tacitus, who held it an honour to descend from our historian's family, decreed, that his works should be placed in all libraries, and that ten copies should be made of them every year at the expence of the public, in order to their being more correct. This was a wise and laudable precaution, which, one would think, might have preserved entire a work so worthy in all its parts of being transmitted to posterity.

Annal.
l. i. c. i.

Tacitus boasts of having wrote without passion or prejudice, *sine ira & studio*, and of having strictly adhered to truth in every thing, which is the principal duty of an historian. To effect this, Tacitus had occasion not only for a great love of truth, but a very fine discernment, and much precaution. “ For he observes himself, in speaking of the histories of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero, that whether they were wrote during their lives or after their deaths, falsehood was equally notorious in them, fear having dictated some of them, and hatred others: *Florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ; postquam occiderunt, recentibus odiis compositæ sunt.* “ There are, says he, two failings highly apt to injure truth : either abandoned adulation, or revengeful hatred against those that reign. It is not to be expected, that historians, who are either flatterers or declared enemies, should have any great regard for posterity. *Veritas pluribus modis infracta—libidine assentandi, aut rursus odio adversus dominantes. Ita neutris cura posteritatis, inter insensos vel obnoxios.* “ We are presently disgusted with the sordid flattery of a writer, but hear slander and reproach with pleasure : for adulation bears the
“ odious

Histor.

l. i. c. i.

“ odious brand of slavery, and malignity the specious shew of freedom.” *Sed ambitionem scriptoris facile adverseris, obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur : quippe adulationi fœdum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest.* Tacitus promises to avoid these two extremes, and professes a fidelity of proof against all prejudices. *Incorruptam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam, & sine odio dicendus est.*

The part which we have of Tiberius's reign is judged Tacitus's masterpiece in respect to politics. The rest of his history, say the same critics, might be composed by another as well as by him ; Rome not wanting declaimers to paint the vices of Caligula, the stupidity of Claudius, and the cruelties of Nero. But to write the life of a prince like Tiberius, required an historian like Tacitus, who could unravel all the intrigues of the cabinet, assign their real causes to events, and distinguish pretext and appearance from actual motives and truth.

It is useful and important, I confess, to unmask false virtues, to penetrate the mists and obscurity, in which ambition and the other passions conceal themselves, and to set vice and guilt in full light, in order to inspire the horror of them. But is it not to be feared that an historian, who almost everywhere affects to dive into the human heart, and to sound it in its most secret recesses, gives us his own ideas and conjectures for reality, and frequently lends men intentions they never had, and designs of which they never thought ? Sallust throws political reflections into his history, but he does it with more art and reserve, and thereby renders himself less suspected. Tacitus, in his history of the emperors, is more attentive to exposing the bad, than shewing the good : which perhaps is because all those whose lives we have from him are bad princes.

As to the style of Tacitus, we must own it very obscure: it is sometimes even hard and stiff, and has not all the purity of the good authors of the Latin tongue. But he excels in expressing much sense in few words, which gives a very peculiar force, energy, and spirit, to his discourse. He excels also in painting objects, sometimes with brevity, and sometimes with greater extent, but always in lively colours, that in a manner set what he describes before our eyes, and (which is his peculiar character) suggest much more than they express. Some examples will prove this better than what I say; which I shall extract solely from the life of Agricola.

Passages of Tacitus full of spirit.

1. Tacitus speaks of the Britons, who voluntarily supplied recruits, paid tributes, and submitted to all other impositions, when the governors sent from Rome acted with lenity and moderation, "but suffered cruelty and violent treatment with great reluctance, sufficiently subjected to obey, but not to be used like slaves." *Has (injurias) ægrè tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut servant.* Cap. 13.

2. "Agricola, having applied himself from the first year of his government to put a stop to these disorders, reinstated the desire of peace, which before, either through the negligence or collusion of his predecessors, was no less terrible than war." *Hæc primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quæ, vel incuriâ vel tolerantia priorum, haud minus quam bellum timebatur.* Cap. 20.

3. Domitian's reception of Agricola at his return from his glorious campaigns, is one of the finest passages in Tacitus, but the spirit of it cannot be rendered in a translation. *Exceptus brevi osculo, & nullo sermone, turbæ servientium immixtus est.*

est. “ After a short cool embrace, in which the
 “ emperor did not say one word, he was left to mix
 “ with the crowd of courtiers attending.” *Cap. 40.*

4. The same may be said of what immediately follows. Agricola, who perfectly knew the genius of the court, and how offensive the reputation of a successful general is to idle courtiers without merit, to soften the lustre of it, and to illude envy, thought proper to lead a quiet life remote from business. *Cæterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit.* “ He retained a moderate equipage, treated every body with affability, “ and went abroad in the company of only one “ or two friends ; so that the generality of people, “ who usually judge of the merit of men by the “ splendor and magnificence of their train, when “ they saw and considered him, asked themselves whether that was the so much celebrated “ Agricola, and could scarce believe it was him “ under such an appearance.” *Cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus : adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* How are we to render these two last phrases, *quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur*, which have a profound sense, that it is almost necessary to guess ? The historian has provided for this, in telling us, people generally judge of great men by the splendor that surrounds them ; *plerisque magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est.* He distinguishes two kinds of spectators. The one, which are the many, in seeing the modesty of Agricola’s outside, enquired upon what his reputation could be founded, not perceiving the usual marks of it : *ut plerique quærerent famam.* The others, and those the exceeding few, who did not judge by vulgar opinion, comprehended, that great merit might be concealed under a simple and modest

deft appearance, and that the one was not incompatible with the other : *pauci interpretarentur.*

5. Tacitus fometimes mingles his facts with very judicious reflections. This he does in a wonderful manner, where he extols the wifdom and moderation with which Agricola managed and foothed the violent temper of Domitian, though himfelf had frequently experienced bad treatment from it. *Proprium humani ingenii eft, odiffe quem læferis. Domitiani verò natura præceps in iram, & quo obfcurior, eo irrevocabilius, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolaë leniebatur : quia non contumacia, neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant quibus moris illicita mirari, poffe etiam fub malis principibus magnos viros effe, obfequiumque ac modeltiam, fi induftria ac vigor adfint, eò laudis excedere, quò plerique per abrupta, fed in nullum reip. ufum, ambitiofa morte inclaruerunt.*

Cap. 42. “ Though it is of the nature of man
“ to hate whom he has injured, and Domitian
“ was exceffively prone to anger, and the more
“ irreconcilable the more he concealed it, Agri-
“ cola knew how to pacify him by his pru-
“ dence and moderation. For he never aggra-
“ vated his rage by contumacious behaviour, and
“ was not fo eager after fame, as to urge on his
“ fate for the empty reputation of a generous free-
“ doin of fpeech. Let thofe who admire fuch a
“ rafhnefs of generofity, learn from him, that
“ great men may live under bad princes; and
“ that fubmiffion and modefty, if fupported with
“ vigour and induftry, may acquire greater fame,
“ than many have afpired to by a bold and hardy
“ behaviour, without any emolument to the pub-
“ lic, and with no other fruit to themfelves, ex-
“ cept a more diftinguifhed death.”

QUINTUS CURTIUS. (*Rufus.*)

I have already observed elsewhere, that the time *Ancient History*, when Quintus Curtius lived is not precisely known. *Vol. VI.* The learned are very much divided on this head; some placing him in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius, and others in that of Vespasian, and even of Trajan.

He wrote the history of Alexander the Great in ten books, of which the two first are not come down to us, and which have been supplied by Freinshemius. His style is florid, agreeable, and full of wise reflections; and he has many very fine harangues, but generally too long, and sometimes in the spirit of declamation. His thoughts, which are full of wit, and often very solid, have however an affected glitter and conceit, which do not entirely appear of the stamp of the Augustan age. It would be surprizing enough, that Quintilian, in his enumeration of the Latin authors, should have omitted to mention an historian of the merit of Quintus Curtius, had the latter lived before him.

He is reproached with many faults of ignorance in respect to astronomy, geography, the dates of his events, and even the most known effects of nature, as having thought the moon indifferently eclipsed when new, and when at the full. *Lunam Lib. 4. deficere, cum aut terram subiret, aut sole preme-* *c. 10. retur.*

There is an excellent French translation of this author by Mr. Vaugelas.

SUETONIUS. (*Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*)

SUETONIUS was the son of Suetonius Lenis, *Sueton in Othon. c. 10.* a tribune of the thirteenth legion, who was at the battle of Bedriacum, where the troops of Vitellius

were defeated by Otho. He flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian.

Plin. l. 10. Pliny the Younger had a great affection for
Ep. 100. him, and was very desirous of having him always with him. He says, that the more he knew him the better he loved him, upon account of his probity, politeness, good conduct, application to letters, and erudition; and did him many services.

Suetonius composed a great number of books, which are almost all lost. Only his history of the first twelve emperors, and part of his treatise upon the celebrated grammarians and rhetoricians are come down to us.

This history is very much esteemed by the learned. He confines himself in it less to the affairs of the empire, than the persons of the emperors, whose particular actions, domestic behaviour, and inclinations in general, good or bad, he relates. He does not observe the order of time, and no history ever differed more from annals than this. He reduces the whole to certain general heads, setting down under each all that relates to it. His style is strong and simple, in which it plainly appears, that he was more intent on truth than eloquence. He is blamed for having given too much licence to his pen, and for being as loose and debauched in his narrations, as the emperors, whose history he writes, in their lives.

LUCIUS FLORUS.

Vossius. FLORUS is believed to have been a Spaniard, of the family of the Senecas, and to have had the names of *L. Annæus Seneca* by birth, and of *L. Julius Florus* by adoption. We have an abridgment of his in four books of the Roman history from Romulus down to Augustus, which seems to have been wrote in Trajan's time. It has not the usual

usual fault of abridgments, of being dry, barren, and insipid. Its style is elegant, agreeable, and has a kind of poetical vivacity in it: but in some places it has too much emphasis and pomp, and sometimes even bombast. It is not an abridgment of Livy, with whom he often differs. We have said before, that it is doubted whether the epitomes or summaries at the head of the books of Livy were wrote by Florus.

J U S T I N.

J U S T I N is believed to have inscribed his abridgment of the history of Trogus Pompeius to Titus Antoninus: but that is not certain, there having been several emperors of the name of Antoninus. Trogus Pompeius was one of the illustrious writers of the time of Augustus, and is ranked amongst the historians of the first class, Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus. His work was of immense extent, and contained the Greek and Roman history entire down to the reign of Augustus. Justin has abridged it in the same number of books; for which we are not obliged to him, if it be true that his abridgment occasioned the loss of the original. We may judge of the purity and elegance of Trogus's style from the speech of Mithridates to his troops, which Justin has inserted entire in his thirty-eighth book. It is very long and indirect. For Justin takes notice, that Trogus did not approve the direct harangues introduced by Livy and Sallust in their histories. It is at the end of this speech, after having represented to his soldiers, that he is not going to lead them into the frightful solitudes of Scythia, but the most fertile and opulent region in the universe, that Mithridates adds; "Asia expects them with impatience, and seems to offer them her hand, whilst she loudly invokes their aid: so much

“ have the rapaciousness of proconsuls, the oppressions of tax-farmers, and the vexations of unjust tribunals, inspired them with hatred and detestation for the Romans ;” *Tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet : adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumnie litium.* The style of Justin is clear, intelligible, and agreeable : we find in him from time to time fine thoughts, solid reflections, and very lively descriptions. Except a small number of words and modes of speech, his Latinity is sufficiently pure ; and it is very probable that he generally uses the words and even phrases of Trogus.

AUTHORS of the AUGUST HISTORY.

The lives of the Roman emperors from Adrian to Carinus is called *The August History*. Those authors are Spartianus, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiscus. They all lived in the reign of Dioclesian, though some of them wrote also under his successors. I shall not enter into a particular account of their works, which have no relation to my history.

AURELIUS VICTOR.

AURELIUS VICTOR lived in the reign of Constantius, and long after. He is believed to have been an African. He was born in the country, and the son of a very poor illiterate man. He seems to have been a pagan at the time he wrote. His history of the emperors begins at Augustus, and goes on to the twenty-third year of Constantius.

We have also, of the same author's, an abridgment of the lives of illustrious men, almost all Romans, from Procas to Julius Cæsar. Others ascribe

ascribe this little work to Cornelius Nepos, Æmilius Probus, &c. but Vossius maintains that it is Aurelius Victor's. This abridgment contains little more than proper names and dates, and for that reason does not suit children, who cannot learn much Latinity from it.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS was by nation a Greek, of a considerable family in the city of Antioch. He served many years in the Roman armies in the time of Constantius. He afterwards quitted the troops, and retired to Rome, where he wrote his history, which he divided into one and thirty books. He continued it from Nerva, where Suetonius ends, to the death of Valens. We have now only the last eighteen books, which begin at the end of the year 353, immediately after the death of Magnentius. Though he was a Greek, he wrote it in Latin, but in a Latin that favours much of the Greek and the soldier. This defect, says Vossius, is made amends for by the author's other qualities, who is grave, solid, judicious, very sincere, and a great lover of truth. His zeal for idols and their adorers, particularly for Julian the apostate, whom he makes his hero, is very evident; and on the contrary he appears much the enemy of Constantius. He does not however fail to treat both the one and the other with justice.

EUTROPIUS.

EUTROPIUS wrote his abridgment of the Roman history in the reigns of Valentinian and Valens, but by order of the latter, to whom he inscribes it. To judge of it by his style, one would believe him rather a Greek than a Roman.

CHAPTER III.

OF ORATORS.

INTRODUCTION.

I AM to speak in this place of the part of polite learning, which has the most beauty, solidity, greatness, and splendor, and is of the most extensive use: I mean Eloquence. This is a talent, which exalts the orator above the vulgar of mankind, and almost above humanity itself: which renders him in some measure the guide and arbiter of the most important deliberations; which gives him an empire over the mind, the more admirable as it is entirely voluntary, and founded solely upon the force of reason placed in all its light: in a word, which enables him to sway the heart to his purposes, to overcome the most obstinate resistance, and to inspire such sentiments as he pleases; joy or sorrow, love or hatred, hope or fear, compassion or resentment. If we represent to ourselves the numerous assemblies of Athens or Rome, in which the greatest interests of those states are considered, and where the orator, from the tribunal of harangues, reigns by his eloquence over an immense people, who hear him with a profound silence interrupted only by applauses and acclamations: Of all that the world ever contained of magnificent in appearance, and most capable of dazzling the mind of man, is there any thing so grand, so soothing to self-love as This?

What still infinitely exalts the value of eloquence, according to the judicious reflection of Cicero, is the amazing scarcity of good orators in all ages. If we look back into all other professions,

ons, arts and sciences, we find numbers distinguished for excelling in them, generals, statesmen, philosophers, mathematicians, physicians, in a word, great persons in every way. We cannot say the same entirely in respect to poets; I mean such as have attained perfection in their art: the number of these has always been extremely small, but however much greater than that of good orators.

What I now say ought to seem the more surprising, as in respect to the other arts and sciences, it is generally necessary to imbibe them from sources devious and unknown, and not of common use; whereas the talent of speaking is a thing merely natural, that seems to be within every one's capacity, that has nothing in it of obscure and abstracted, and of which one of the principal rules and most essential virtues is to express one's self clearly, without ever departing from nature.

It cannot be said, that, amongst the ancients, the success of the other arts proceeded from a greater number of persons being induced by the allurements of rewards to apply themselves to them. As well at Athens as Rome, the two great theatres in which the talents of the mind shone out with most lustre, no study was ever cultivated more universally, nor with greater application and ardor, than that of eloquence. And we ought not to wonder at it. In republics like those, where all the affairs of the state were examined in common; where war and peace, alliances and laws, were deliberated upon either before the people or senate, or with both; and where every thing was determined by plurality of voices; the talent of speaking must necessarily have prevailed. Whoever spoke in these assemblies with most eloquence, became by necessary consequence the most powerful. Hence the youth, of any ambition, did not fail to apply themselves with the utmost dili-

gence, to a study, that alone opened the way to riches, credit, and dignities.

Whence therefore was it, that, notwithstanding the application and efforts of so great a number of excellent geniusses, the great advantages in respect to fortune, and the attraction of so soothing a reputation, the number of excellent orators has always been so small? The reason is evident, and we ought to conclude, that of all the arts which are the object of human wit, eloquence must necessarily be the greatest, the most difficult, and that which requires the most talents, and talents entirely different and even opposite in appearance, for succeeding in it.

Every body knows that there are three kinds of style, the great or sublime, the common or simple, and the mediate or florid, which holds the mean between the other two.

In the * sublime kind, the orator employs whatever is most noble in the thoughts, most lofty in the expressions, most bold in the figures, and most strong and pathetic in the passions. His discourse is then like an impetuous torrent, incapable of being stopped or kept in, which in its violence bears away those that hear it, and forces them, whether they will or no, to follow it wheresoever it hurries them. But this is not the place for treating this subject, which would alone prove the extent of the talents necessary to eloquence.

The † simple style is quite different. It is clear,

* Grandiloqui [quidam] ut ita dicam fuerunt, cum ampla & sententiarum gravitate, & majestate verborum; vehementes, varii, copiosi, graves, ad permovendos & convertendos animos instructi & parati. *Cic. in Orat. n. 20.*

At ille qui saxa devolvat, & pontem indignetur, & ripas sibi faciat, multus & torrens judi-

cem vel nitentem contrà feret, coetque ire qua rapit. *Quintil. l. 12 c. 10.*

† Contrà [sunt quidam] tenues, acuti, omnia docentes, & dilucidiora non ampliora facientes, subtili quadam & pressa oratione limati — Alii in eadem jejunitate concinniores, id est faceti, florentes etiam, & leviter ornati. *Orat. n. 20.*

pure,

pure, intelligible, and nothing more. It has no thoughts of soaring, and endeavours only to be understood. It values itself solely upon a peculiar purity of language, great elegance, and refined delicacy. If it sometimes ventures ornament, that ornament is entirely simple and natural. Horace's expression, *simplex munditiis*, is the best I can use to describe this style; of which Phædrus and Terence are the most perfect models.

A third * species of eloquence is in a manner the mean between the other two, and is therefore called the mixed, florid, or mediate style. It has neither the delicacy of the latter, nor the force and thunder of the former. It borders upon both, but without attaining to, or resembling either. It participates of the one and the other, or, to speak more justly, it is neither the one nor the other. The orator, in this way, designedly uses the glitter of metaphors, the glow of figures, agreeable digressions, harmony of disposition, and beauty of thoughts; retaining always however the mild and temperate character peculiar to it: so that it may then be compared to a stream, that rolls its silver waves through flowery banks shaded with verdant trees.

Each of these kinds of eloquence is highly estimable in itself, and acquires all writers that succeed in them great reputation. But the † sublime rises

* Est autem quidam interjectus medius, & quasi temperatus, nec acumine posteriorum, nec fulmine utens superiorum: vicinus amorum, in neutro excellens: utriusque particeps, vel utriusque (si verum querimus) potius expers. *Orat. n.* 21.

Medius hic modus, & translationibus crebrior, & figuris erit jucundior; egressionibus amœnus, compositione aptus, sen-

tentiis dulcis: lenior tamen, ut amnis lucidus quidam, & vibrantibus utrinque sylvis inumbratus. *Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.*

† Tertius est amplus, copiosus, gravis, ornatus, in quo profecto vis maxima est. Hic est enim, cujus ornatum dicendi & copiam admiratæ gentes, eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere passæ sunt: sed hanc eloquentiam, quæ cursu magno sonituque ferretur, quam suspicerent

rises infinitely above the other two. It is this kind of eloquence which excites admiration, ravishes applause, and sets all the passions of the soul in motion; that sometimes by its impetuosity, its thunders, throws trouble and emotion into the mind, and sometimes insinuates itself with a majesty of sweetness, a dignity of softness, irresistibly tender and affecting.

It is the union of all these parts, which forms the perfect orator; and it is easy to perceive how difficult and extraordinary it is for one man to possess so many different qualities. The enumeration, which we shall soon make of the antient Greek and Latin orators, will shew us some, who have confined themselves with success to the two latter kinds, but very few who have been able to attain to the sublime, and still more few who have succeeded in all three at the same time.

What renders success in this respect so difficult and extraordinary, is that the excellent qualities which form the three kinds of style, have each a defect, that borders very close upon them, which adorns itself with their name, which does indeed resemble them in some measure, but at the same time alters and vitiates them, by carrying them too far, by making simplicity degenerate into meanness, ornament into tinsel and glare, and the great and sublime into empty swell and bombast. For it is in style, as in virtue. There are in the one and the other certain bounds and modifications to be observed, beyond which lie the vicious extremes:

*Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.* Hor.

suspicerent omnes, quam admirarentur, quam se assequi posse diffiderent. Hujus eloquentiæ est tractare animos, hujus omni

modo permovere. Hæc modò perfringit, modò irrepat in sensus: inserit novas opiniones, evellit insitas. *Orat. n. 97.*

Extremes

Extremes the more to be feared, as they seem to spring from virtue itself, and confound themselves with it.

The * Greeks call this excess κακόζηλον, *vicious affectation*. It appears in the three kinds of style, when they exceed the bounds of the just and the true, when the imagination throws off the guidance of the judgment, and the mind is dazzled with a false appearance of the Good: This, in respect of eloquence, is the greatest and most dangerous of faults, because instead of being avoided like others, the phantom is pursued as merit.

There is also † one virtue common to all the three kinds of style, with which I shall conclude. Amongst orators, and the same may be said of historians, poets, and all writers, there are an infinite variety of styles, geniusses and characters, which occasions so great a difference between them, that scarce one can be found amongst them, who perfectly resembles another. There is however a kind of secret resemblance and common tie between them, which makes them approach, and unites them with each other. I mean a certain delicacy and refinement of taste, a kind of tincture of the True and the Fine, a manner of thinking and expressing themselves, of which nature itself is the source; in fine, that Something it is easier to conceive than express, by which a reader of taste and sense discerns the works both antient and modern, that bear the stamp of pure and elegant antiquity.

* Κακόζηλον, id est mala affectatio, per omne dicendi genus peccat — Ita vocatur, quicquid est ultra virtutem, quoties ingenium judicio caret, & specie boni fallitur: omnium in eloquentia vitiorum pef-

simum; nam cetera cum vitentur, hoc petitur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.

† Habet omnis eloquentia aliquid commune. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 2.

And this is what young persons, who desire to make any progress in polite learning, ought to make the principal object of their care and application : I mean to study in the works of the learned those natural beauties, which are the growth of all ages and all languages, and to make themselves familiar with them by a serious and reiterated commerce with the authors, wherein they are to be found, in order to attain so happy a taste as to discern them at first sight, and, if I may venture the expression, to perceive them like fragrant odours almost by the scent.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE GREEK ORATORS.

SECT I.

Age in which eloquence flourished most at Athens.

GREECE, * so fertile in fine geniusses for all the other arts, was a long time barren in respect to eloquence, and, before Pericles, may in some measure be said to have only spoke like an infant, and that till then she had but a small idea, and set little value upon the talent of speaking. It was at Athens that eloquence began first to appear with splendor. And it is not surprizing that it was not in honour there, till after many ages. Elo-

* Græcia—omnes artes vestustiores habet, & multo antè non inventas solum, sed etiam perfectas, quam est à Græcis elaborata vis dicendi atque copia. In quam cum intueor, maxime mihi occurrunt, Attice, & quasi lucent Athenæ tuæ, qua in urbe primum se

orator extulit. — Non in constituentibus Remp. nec in bella gerentibus—nasci cupiditas dicendi solet. Pacis est comes, otiique focia, & jam bene constitutæ civitatis quasi alumna quædam eloquentia. *Cic. in Brut. n. 26. & 45.*

quence does not usually grow up amidst the cares that are necessary in founding a state, and the tumult of wars. She is the friend of peace, and the companion of tranquillity, and requires, if I may venture the expression, for her cradle a commonwealth already well established and flourishing.

But * what ought to appear surprizing, is that eloquence, almost in her birth, and from her first appearance, (which Cicero dates in the time of Pericles) should on a sudden attain to such an height of perfection. Before † Pericles there was no work or discourse in which any trace of beauty or ornament appeared, or which expressed the orator ; and his harangues displayed even then whatever is finest, most vigorous, and most sublime in eloquence.

Pericles, whose view was to render himself powerful in the republic, and to sway in the assemblies of the people, considered eloquence as the most necessary means for the attainment of those ends, and devoted himself wholly to it. The natural excellency of his genius supplied him with whatever was wanting for his success, and the great application he had before made to philosophy under Anaxagoras, had taught him by what springs the human heart was to be moved and actuated at will. He employed with wonderful art sometimes the charms of insinuation to persuade, and sometimes the force of vehement passions to oppose and sub-

* Hæc ætas prima Athenis oratorem prope perfectum tulit. *Ibid.* n. 45.

† Ante Periclem — littera nulla est, quæ quidem ornatum aliquem habeat, & oratoris esse videatur. *Ibid.* n. 27.

‖ In Phædro Platonis [*pag.* 270] hinc Periclem præstitisse ceteris dicit oratoribus Socrates,

quod is Anaxagoræ Physici fuerit auditor ; à quo censet eum, cum alia præclara quædam & magnifica didicisset, uberem & fecundum fuisse, gnarumque (quod est eloquentiæ maximum) quibus orationis modis quæque animorum partes pellerentur. *Cic. in Orat.* n. 15.

due. Athens, * who saw a new light shine out in her bosom, charmed with the graces and sublimity of his discourse, admired and feared his eloquence. It is † observed, that, at the very time he opposed the passions of the people with a kind of inflexible obstinacy, he knew how to please them, and had the address to bring them over insensibly to his opinion. The comic poets accordingly, in their satires upon him (for at that time they did not spare the most powerful) said to his praise on one side, that the goddess of persuasion with all her charms dwelt on his lips; and on the other, that his discourse ‖ had the vehemence of thunder, and that it always left behind it a kind of stimulation in the souls of his hearers.

By this ‡ extraordinary talent of speaking, Pericles retained during forty years, as well in war as peace, an entire authority over the most inconstant and capricious, and at the same time the most jealous people in the world of their liberty, whose discouragement in disgrace it was sometimes necessary to remove, as it was sometimes to abate their pride, and to check their rashness in success. Hence we may judge of the power and value of eloquence.

* Hujus suavitate maximè exhilaratæ sunt Athenæ, hujus ubertatem & copiam admiratæ; ejusdem vim dicendi terroremque timuerunt. *In Brut.* n. 44.

† Quid Pericles? de cujus dicendi copia sic accepimus, ut, cum contra voluntatem Atheniensium loqueretur pro salute patriæ, severius tamen id ipsum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, popolare omnibus & jucundum videretur. Cujus in labris veteres comici, etiam cum illi maledicerent (quod tum Athenis fieri liceret)

leporem habitasse dixerunt; tantamque in eo vim fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus qui audissent quasi aculeos quosdam relinqueret. *De Orat.* l. 3. n. 138.

‖ Ab Aristophane poëta fulgurare, tonare, permiscere Græciam dictus est. *Orat.* n. 29. Ἡσπερ πῆλ', ἐκρόντα, ζυνεκύναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

‡ Itaque hic doctrina, consilio, eloquentia excellens, quadraginta annos præfuit Athenis, & urbanis eodem tempore & bellicis rebus. *Ibid.*

Though

Though Pericles left no piece of eloquence behind him, he however deserves to be ranked at the head of the Greek orators; and the more, according to * Cicero, because it was he who first taught Athens a taste for sound and perfect eloquence, placed it in honour, shewed its true use and destination, and made its salutary effects evident by the success which attended his harangues.

I proceed now to speak of the ten Athenian orators, of whose lives Plutarch has given us an abridgment, and shall treat only those, who are most known, with some extent.

Of the ten Greek orators.

ANTIPHON.

ANTIPHON improved himself very much in Plut. de his conversations with Socrates. He taught rhetoric; he also composed pleadings for such as had vit. decem occasion for them, and is believed to be the first Rhet. that introduced that custom. His invention was warm and abundant, his style exact, his proofs strong, and he had a great felicity in answering unforeseen objections. He was no less successful in moving the passions, and in giving the persons he introduced speaking their just and peculiar characters. He was condemned to die for having favoured the establishment of the Four Hundred at Athens.

ANDOCIDES.

ANDOCIDES was also the cotemporary of Socrates. He began to flourish twenty years before Lyfias. He was brought to a trial as an accomplice in throwing down the statues of Mercury, which were all either thrown down or mutilated in one night in the beginning of the Peloponnesian Plut.

* Pericles primus adhibuit doctrinam, &c. *In Brut.* n. 44.
war.

war. He could extricate himself from this danger only by promising to discover the guilty, in which number he included his own father, whose life however he saved. His style was simple, and almost entirely void of figures and ornaments.

LYSIAS.

Dionys.
Halic. in
Lys.

LYSIAS was by origin of Syracuse, but born at Athens. At fifteen years of age he went to Thurium in Italy with two of his brothers in the new colony sent thither to settle. He continued there till the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, and then returned to Athens in the forty-eighth year of his age.

He distinguished himself there by his peculiar merit, and was always considered as one of the most excellent of the Greek orators, but in the simple and tranquil species of eloquence. Perspicuity, purity, sweetness, and delicacy of style, were his particular attributes. He was, says * Cicero, a writer of great subtilty and elegance, in whom Athens might almost boast already of a perfect orator. Quintilian gives us the same idea of him. Lysias †, says he, is subtle and elegant, and if it sufficed for an orator to instruct, none were more perfect than him. For he has nothing superfluous, nothing affected in his discourse. His style however resembles more a small and clear stream, than a great river.

If Lysias generally confined himself to that simplicity, and as Cicero || calls it, leanness of style,

* Fuit Lysias — egregiè subtilis atque elegans, quem jam prope audeas oratorem perfectum dicere. *Cic. in Brut. n. 35.*

† Lysias subtilis atque elegans, & quo nihil, si oratori satis sit docere, quæras per-

fectius. Nihil enim est inane, nihil accersitum: puro tamen fonti, quam magno flumini, propior. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

|| In Lysia sunt sæpe etiam lacerti, sic ut nihil fieri possit valentius: verum est certè genero toto strigiosior. *Brut. n. 64.*

it was not because he was absolutely incapable of force and greatness: for according to the same Cicero, there were very strong and nervous passages in his harangues. He wrote * in that manner through choice and judgment. He did not plead at the bar himself, but composed pleadings for others; and to suit their character, was often obliged to use a simple style with little or no elevation; without which those native graces which were admirable in him had been lost, and he had betrayed the secret himself. It was therefore necessary that his discourses, which he did not pronounce himself, should have a natural and negligent air, that requires great art, and is one of the most refined secrets of composition. In this manner the law for accused persons to plead their own causes without the help of advocates was eluded.

When Socrates was summoned before the judges Lib. 1. de Orat. n. to answer for his opinions concerning religion, Lyfias brought him a speech, which he had composed 231. with abundance of care, and in which he had undoubtedly introduced whatever was capable of moving the judges. † Socrates, after having read it, told him, that he thought it very fine and oratorical, but not consistent with the resolution and fortitude that became a philosopher.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes at large, and with abundance of taste and judgment, the character of Lyfias's style, of which he enumerates the constituent parts, that are all of the simple and natural kind of eloquence I have spoke of.

* Illud in Lyfiadicendi textum tenue atque rarum lætioribus numeris corrumpendum non erat. Perdidisset enim gratiam, quæ in eo maxima est, simplicis atque inaffectati coloris: perdidisset fidem quoque. Nam scribebat aliis, non

ipse dicebat; ut oportuerit esse illa rudibus & incompotis similia, quod ipsum compositio est. *Quintil.* l. 9. c. 4.

† Illam orationem disertam sibi & oratoriam videri, fortem & virilem non videri.

He

He even repeats some passages in one of his harangues, the better to make known his style.

ISOCRATES.

ISOCRATES was the son of Theodorus the Athenian, who having enriched himself by making musical instruments, was in a condition to give his children a good education: for he had two more sons and one daughter. Isocrates came into the world about the 86th Olympiad, two and twenty years after Lyfias, and seven before Plato.

A. M.

3568.

Ant. J. C.

436.

He had an excellent education under Prodicus, Gorgias, Tifias, and according to some Theramenes, that is to say all the most famous rhetoricians of those times.

His inclination would have led him to follow the usual course of the young Athenians, and to have shared in the public affairs: but the weakness of his voice, and his almost unsurmountable timidity, not permitting him to venture appearing in public, he directed his views a different way. He did not however entirely renounce either the glory of eloquence, or the desire of rendering himself useful to the public, which were his ruling passions; and what the natural impediment of his voice denied him, he conceived thoughts of attaining by the help of his industry and pen. Accordingly he applied himself diligently to composition, and did not, like the generality of the sophists, make chimerical and useless questions, or subjects of mere curiosity, the objects of his application, but solid and important topics of government, which might be of use to states, and even princes as well as private persons, and at the same time do honour to himself by the graces he should endeavour to diffuse throughout his writings. Isocrates himself informs us in the exordium of his discourse, that these were his views.

In Pana-
then.

He

He exercised himself also in composing pleadings for such as had occasion for them, according to the custom general enough in those times, though contrary to the laws, which, as I have observed before, ordained that persons should defend themselves without using the help of others. But as these pleadings drew trouble upon himself in consequence of the violation of the law, and obliged him to appear often before the judges, he renounced them entirely, and opened a school for the instruction of youth in eloquence.

By this new application, * the house of Isocrates became in respect to Greece in general, a fruitful nursery of great men, and like the Trojan horse, none came out of it but illustrious persons. Tho' he did not appear in public at the bar, and confined himself within the walls of his school or study, he acquired a reputation to which none after him could attain, and was equally esteemed for the excellence of his compositions, and his art of teaching, as his writings and pupils sufficiently proved.

He had a wonderful capacity in discerning the force, genius, and character of his scholars, and in knowing how to exercise and direct their talents : † a rare, but absolutely necessary quality for succeeding

* Extitit igitur Isocrates— (cujus domus cunctæ Græciæ quasi ludus quidam patuit atque officina dicendi) magnus orator & perfectus magister, quanquam forensi luce caruit, intraque parietes aluit eam gloriam, quam nemo quidem, meo judicio, est postea consecutus. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 32.

Ex Isocratis ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes extiterunt. *Lib. 2. de Orat.* n. 94.

Clarissimus ille præceptor Isocrates, quem non magis li-

bri bene dixisse, quam discipuli bene docuisse testantur. *Quintil.* l. 2. c. 9.

† Diligentissime hoc est eis, qui instituunt aliquos atque erudiunt, videndum, quò sua quemque natura maxime ferre videatur— Dicebat Isocrates, doctor singularis, se calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frænis uti solere. Alterum enim exultantem verborum audacia reprimebat, alterum cunctantem & quasi verecundantem incitabat. Neque eos similes effecit inter se, sed

ceeding in the important employment of instructing. Isocrates, in speaking of two of his most illustrious disciples, used to say, that in regard to Ephorus he used the spur, and to Theopompus the bridle, in order to quicken the slowness of the one, and check the too great vivacity of the other. The latter in composing, gave a loose to his fire and imagination, and exhausted himself in bold and glowing expressions: him he curbed. The other, on the contrary, who was timid and reserved, regarded nothing but a rigid correctness, and never dared to venture the least excursion: to him he recommended soaring, and the flights of imagination. His design was not to make them like each other: but by retrenching from the one, and adding to the other, to conduct each to the highest point of perfection of which his genius was susceptible.

Plut. de
decem
Orat. Gr.
in Isocr.

Isocrates's school was of great use to the public, and at the same time of great gain to himself. He acquired more money in it than any sophist had ever done before him. He had generally more than an hundred scholars at five hundred drachmas (about twenty-five pounds) each, in all probability for the whole time of their studying under him. For the honour of so great a master, I should be sorry if what is said of him in respect to Demosthenes were true, that he would not instruct him because he was not able to pay the usual price. I chuse rather to hold with what Plutarch tells us in the same place, that Isocrates took nothing of the citizens of Athens, and only of strangers. So generous and disinterested a conduct suits much better with his character, and the excellent principles of morality diffused throughout all his works.

sed tantum alteri affinxit, de
altero limavit, ut id conforma-
ret in utroque, quod utriusque

natura pateretur, Lib. 3. de
Orat. n. 36.

Besides

Besides his income from his school, he received great presents from considerable persons. Nicocles king of Cyprus, and son of Evagoras, gave him twenty talents (about five thousand pounds) for the discourse inscribed with his name.

A very sensible saying of Isocrates is related. *Plut. ibid.* He was at table with Nicocreon king of Cyprus, and was pressed to talk, and supply matter for conversation. He persisted in excusing himself, and gave this reason for his refusal: *What I do know, does not suit this place; and what would suit it, I don't know.* This thought is very like that of Seneca: * *I never desired to please the people: for they do not approve what I know, and I don't know what they approve.*

Isocrates upon the news of the defeat of the Athenians by Philip at the battle of Chæronea, could not survive the misfortune of his country, and died of grief, after having continued four days without eating. He was then fourscore and eighteen, or an hundred years old.

It is hard to describe the style of Isocrates better than Cicero and Quintilian have done it: I shall cite their own words.

Cicero, after having related the favourable idea which Socrates had conceived of Isocrates whilst very young, and Plato's magnificent praise of him when very old, though he seems the declared enemy of the rhetoricians, goes on thus describing his style. *Dulce igitur orationis genus, & solutum, & effluens, sententiis argutum, verbis sonans, est in illo epidiastico genere, quod diximus proprium Sophistarum, pompæ quam pugnæ aptius, gymnasiis & palæstræ dicatum, spretum & pulsum foro.* " This kind of
" eloquence is smooth, agreeable, flowing, and
" abounds with fine thoughts and harmonious ex-

* Nunquam volui populo placere: nam, quæ ego scio, non probat; quæ probat populus, ego nescio. *Senec. Ep. 29.*

“ preffions : but it has been excluded the bar, and
 “ transferred to the academies, as more proper for
 “ preparatory exercifes, than real affairs.”

Lib. 10.
 c. 1.

The following is Quintilian's picture of it, and seems to have been copied from the former. *Ifocrates in diverfo genere dicendi* [he had juft before fpoke of Lysias] *nitidus & comptus, & palæstræ quam pugne magis accommodatus, omnes dicendi veneres fecutus est. Nec immeritò, auditoriis enim se, non judiciis compararat : in inventione facilis, honesti studiosus, in compositione adeo diligens, ut cura ejus reprehendatur.*

Lysias and Isocrates resembled each other very much in many points, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis shews at large : but the style of the latter is more smooth, flowing, elegant, florid, and adorned ; his thoughts are more lively and delicate, with a disposition of words extremely laboured, and perhaps to excess. In a word, all the beauties and graces of eloquence, used by the sophists in the demonstrative kind, are displayed in his discourses, not designed for action and the bar, but pomp and ostentation.

Cicero in many parts of his books *de Republica*, strongly insists, that Isocrates was, properly speaking, the first that introduced into the Greek tongue number, sweetness, and harmony, which before him were little known, and almost generally neglected.

It remains for me to explain one more quality of Isocrates, his love of virtue and good in general, which Quintilian expresses, *honesti studiosus*, and which, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, infinitely exalts him above all the other orators. He runs over his principal discourses to shew, that they have no other tendency but to inspire states, princes, and even private persons, with sentiments of probity, honour, fidelity, moderation, justice, love of the public good, zeal for

for the preservation of liberty, and respect for the sanctity of oaths, the faith of treaties, and for all that relates in any manner to religion. He advises all those, who have the government of states, and the administration of public affairs, confided to their care, to read and study those admirable books with singular attention, which contain all the principles of true and salutary policy.

ISÆUS.

ISÆUS was of Chalcis in Eubœa. He went to Athens, and was the pupil of Lysias, whose style he imitated so well, that in reading their discourses it was hard to distinguish the one from the other. He began to appear with splendor after the Peloponnesian war, and lived to the time of Philip. He was Demosthenes's master, who gave him the preference to Isocrates, because the eloquence of Isæus was stronger, and more vehement than the others, and for that reason suited better the warm and vigorous genius of Demosthenes.

Plut. in

Isoc.

Isæo torrentior.

Juven.

LYCURGUS.

LYCURGUS was highly esteemed at Athens for his eloquence, and still more for his probity. Several important employments were conferred upon him, in which he always acquitted himself with success. The civil government of Athens was confided to his care, during which he made so severe a war upon malefactors, that he obliged them all to quit the city. He passed for a severe and inexorable judge, to which Cicero alludes in his letter to his friend Atticus: *Nosmetipsi, qui Lycurgei à principio fuissetus, quotidie demitigamur.*

Ad Attic.
Ep. 13. l. 1.

Lycurgus was appointed questor, that is to say, receiver general of the revenues of the commonwealth, at three different times, and exercised that

function

function during fifteen years. In that time fourteen thousand talents (about two millions sterling) passed thro' his hands, of which he gave an exact account. Before him the revenues of the city amounted only to * sixty talents, and he augmented them to twelve hundred, (about three hundred thousand pounds.) It was this questor, who seeing one of the farmers of the revenue carrying the philosopher Xenocrates to prison, because he had not paid a certain tribute as a stranger at the time, took him from the officers, and made them carry the farmer thither in his stead, for having had the insolence and cruelty to treat a man of learning in that manner. That action was universally applauded. Lycurgus was one of the orators demanded by Alexander of the Athenians, to which they could not consent.

ÆSCHINES. DEMOSTHENES.

*Method of
studying
the Belles
Lettres.
Vol. II.
Antient
History.
Vol. VI.*

I have related at large elsewhere the history of these two celebrated orators, who were always each other's rival, and whose disputes did not cease till the banishment of Æschines. I have also treated their style and eloquence in the same place; and as I have nothing to add to what I have said in respect to them, I shall content myself here with setting before the reader their pictures as drawn by Quintilian.

Lib. 10.
c. 1.

Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, cum decem simul Athenis atas una tulerit; quorum longè princeps Demosthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit: tanta vis in eo, tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis † intenta sunt, tam nihil otiosum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quid desit

* This would be a very small revenue for such a city as Athens, and the augmentation surprisingly considerable: wherefore I do not know whether ἑξακοντα, six hundred, may not be read, instead of ἑξοντα, sixty.

† The metaphor here is not taken from the nerves of the body, but the strings of a bow, which being drawn to the utmost, discharge the arrows with extraordinary force and impetuosity.

in eo, nec quid redundet, invenias. Plenior Æschines, & magis fusus, & grandiori similis, quo minus strictus est; carnis tamen plus habet, lacertorum minus. “ An infinite number of orators follow, for
 “ Athens had ten at one and the same time; at
 “ the head of these was Demosthenes, who far
 “ surpassed them all, and who deserves to be
 “ considered almost as the rule and standard of
 “ eloquence. His style is so strong, his sense
 “ so close and so home, and every thing so
 “ just, so proper and exact, that nothing can be
 “ added or retrenched from him. Æschines is
 “ more abundant and diffuse. He seems greater,
 “ because more loose, and less collected in him-
 “ self; he has however only more flesh with less
 “ nerves.”

HYPERIDES.

HYPERIDES had been at first the hearer and disciple of Plato. He afterwards applied himself ^{Plut. in} to the bar, where his eloquence was admired. * His ^{Hyper.} style had abundance of sweetness and delicacy, but was fit only for small causes. He was joined with Lycurgus in the administration of the public affairs, when Alexander attacked the Greeks, and always declared openly against that prince. After the loss of the battle of Cranon, the Athenians being upon the point of delivering him up to Antipater, he fled to Ægina, and from thence took refuge in a temple of Neptune, from whence he was taken by force, and carried to Antipater at Corinth, who put him to the most cruel tortures, in order to draw from him some secrets and discoveries he wanted to know. But, lest the violence of the pain should force him to betray his friends and

* *Dulcis imprimis & acutus* *Hyperides: sed minoribus cau-* *sis, ut non dixerim utilior, magis par.* *Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.*

country, he bit off his tongue with his teeth, and expired in the torments.

DINARCHUS.

Plut. in
Dinar.

DINARCHUS, according to some, was a native of Corinth, and came to settle at Athens when Alexander was pursuing his conquests in Asia. He was the disciple of Theophrastus, who had succeeded Aristotle in his school, and contracted a particular intimacy with Demetrius Phalereus. He did not plead himself, but composed pleadings for those who had occasion for them. He made Hyperides his model, or rather according to others Demosthenes, whose animated and vehement style suited his genius better.

Change of eloquence amongst the Greeks.

The space of time between Pericles and Demetrius Phalereus, of whom we are going to speak, was the golden age of eloquence amongst the Greeks ; and included about an hundred and thirty years. Before Pericles Greece had produced abundance of great men for government, policy, and war ; besides numbers of excellent philosophers : but eloquence was very little known there. It was he, as I have already observed, who first placed it in honour, who demonstrated its force and power, and introduced the taste for it. This taste was not common to all Greece. Is there any mention in those times of any Argive, Corinthian, or Theban orator ? It confined itself to Athens, that in the interval of which I am speaking, produced the great number of illustrious orators, whose merit has done it so much honour, and has rendered its reputation immortal. All that time may be called the reign of solid and true eloquence, which neither knows nor admits any other ornament, but
natural

natural beauty without paint. *Hæc ætas effudit* Brut.n. 36.
banc copiam ; Et, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille Et
sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum
fuit, in quo naturalis inesset non fucatus nitor.

As long as Greece proposed to herself these great orators for models, and imitated them with fidelity, the taste of sound eloquence, that is the manly and the solid, subsisted in all its purity. But, after their deaths, when she began insensibly to lose sight of them, and to follow different tracks, an eloquence of a new kind, more set off and embellished, succeeded the ancient, and soon made it disappear. Demetrius Phalereus occasioned this change ; of whom it remains for me to speak.

DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS.

DEMETRIUS was surnamed *Phalereus* from Phalera, one of the ports of Athens, where he was born. The celebrated Theophrastus was his master.

I shall not repeat his history in this place, which is related with sufficient extent in the VIIth volume. The reader may see there, that Cassander, having made himself master of Athens some time after the death of Alexander the Great, confided the government of it to Demetrius, who retained it ten years, and acted with so much wisdom, that the people erected three hundred and sixty statues in honour of him : in what manner they were afterwards thrown down, and himself obliged to retire into Egypt, where Ptolomy Soter received him with great kindness : and lastly, his imprisonment in the reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus, where he died by the bite of an aspic. Art. i. §. 5. §. 7. Art. ii. §. 3.

I consider Demetrius Phalereus here only as an orator, and am to shew in what manner he contributed to the decline and destruction of eloquence at Athens.

I have

I have already said that he had been the disciple of Theophrastus, so called from his excellent and *divine manner of speaking*. He had acquired under him a florid and elegant style, abounding with ornaments, and had exercised himself in that kind of eloquence, which is called the *temperate* or *mediate*, which keeps the mean betwixt the sublime and simple; admits all the ornaments of art; employs the shining graces of elocution, and the glitter of thoughts; in a word, which abounds with the sweet and agreeable, but is void of force and energy, and with all its glow and embellishment rises no higher than mediocrity. Demetrius excelled in this manner of writing, which is highly capable of pleasing and exciting admiration of itself, if not compared with the sublime kind, the solid and majestic beauty of which makes the faint lustre of its slight and superficial charms appear like nothing. *It was easy to perceive from his flowing, sweet, agreeable style, that he had been the scholar of Theophrastus. His shining expressions, and happy metaphors, says Cicero, were a kind of stars, that glittered in his discourse, and made it luminous.

The mind is generally apt enough to be dazzled by this kind of eloquence, which illudes the judgment by pleasing the imagination. And this happened now at Athens, where † Demetrius was the first who struck at the ancient solid taste, and

* Orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum agnosceres. *Offic. l. 1. n. 3.*

Cujus oratio cum sedate placideque loquitur, tum illustrant eam quasi stellæ quædam tralata verba atque immutata. *Orat. n. 92.*

† Hic primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem tene-

ramque reddidit: & suavis, ficut fuit, videri maluit quam gravis: sed suavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret; & tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum, à quibus esset auditus. *Brut. n. 38.*

began

began the corruption of eloquence. His sole view in speaking to the people, was to please them. He was for shewing the mildness and benevolence of his disposition, which indeed was his character : but the smooth terms and accent in which he conveyed it, tickled the ears of his auditors without going farther, and only left behind it a pleasing remembrance of a sweet and harmonious disposition of studied words and thoughts. It was not like the victorious eloquence of Pericles, which whilst it abounded with charms, was armed with thunders and lightning, and left in the mind of the hearer, not only a sense of pleasure and delight, but a lively impression, a kind of resistless impulse, that reached and engrossed the heart.

This showy eloquence may sometimes be applicable on occasions of pomp and splendor, in which no other ends are proposed, but to please the auditors, and to display wit, as in the case of panegyrics, provided however that wise restrictions be observed, and the liberty allowed to this kind of discourse be kept within just bounds. Perhaps also this species of eloquence would have been less dangerous, if it had been confined to the private assemblies of the rhetoricians and sophists, who admitted only an inconsiderable number of hearers. But that of Demetrius had a far more ample theatre. It appeared before the whole people ; so that his manner of speaking, if applauded, as it always was, became the rule of the public taste. No other language was heard at the bar ; and the schools of rhetoric were obliged to conform to it. All declamations, which were their principal exercise, and of which the invention is ascribed to our Demetrius, were formed upon the same plan. In proposing his style to themselves, they did not keep within the bounds he had observed : for he was excellent in parts, and merited praise in many things. But as for them, elocution, thoughts, figures,

gures, every thing, as is usual, was strained, and carried to excess. This bad taste made its way with rapidity into the provinces, where it still grew much more corrupt. Aſſoon * as eloquence had quitted the Piræus in this condition, and diſperſed itſelf into the iſlands, and over Aſia, it loſt that Attic health and vigour it had preſerved ſo long at home, aſſumed the manners of ſtrangers, and almoſt unlearned to ſpeak; ſo great and precipitate was its decline. We have this deſcription of it from Cicero.

The ruin of liberty at Athens partly conduced to haſten that of eloquence. The great men, who had done it ſo much honour by the talent of ſpeaking, appeared there no more. Only ſome rhetoricians and ſophiſts, diſperſed in the ſeveral parts of Greece and Aſia, ſupported in ſome ſmall degree its antient reputation. I have ſpoken of them elſewhere.

But, what is moſt ſurprizing, ſome ages after, eloquence reſumed new force, and appeared again with almoſt as much ſplendor as of old at Athens. It is plain that I mean thoſe happy times in which the Greek fathers made ſo laudable and holy an uſe of this talent. For I am not afraid to compare St. Baſil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chryſoſtom, and ſome others, with the moſt celebrated orators of Athens. I have inſerted ſeveral extracts from them in the ſecond volume of the treatiſe upon ſtudy, eſpecially from St. Chryſoſtom, which in my opinion are not inferior to the orations of Demotheſtes, either in beauty of ſtyle, ſolidity of argument, greatneſs of matter, or force and vehemence of paſſions. The reader may con-

* Ut ſemel è Piræo eloquentia eveſta eſt, omnes peragravit inſulas, atque ita peregrinata tota Aſia eſt, ut ſe exterius oblineret moribus, omnem-

que illam ſalubritatem Atticæ dictionis quaſi ſanitatē perderet, ac loqui pene dediceret. *Brut. n. 51.*

sult those passages, which dispenses with my giving new proofs of what I advance here; and I believe he will agree with me, that there is nothing finer or more eloquent to be found in all the writings of ancient Greece.

We shall soon see that the Latin eloquence has not the same good fortune. As soon as it began to decline, after having shone out with extraordinary lustre for some years, it continually languished, and sunk by degrees sufficiently rapid, till it fell at last into a state of corruption, from which it has never since raised itself. And this is what I am to shew in the following article.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE LATIN ORATORS.

ROME, intent at first upon strengthening herself in her new establishment, then upon extending her dominions continually around her, and afterwards on pushing her conquests into remote regions, devoted her whole care and application for many ages to military exercises, and continued during all that time without taste for the arts and sciences in general, and in particular for eloquence, of which she had hitherto scarce any idea. * It was not till after she had subjected the most powerful nations, and established herself in peace and tranquillity, that her commerce with the Greeks began to reform her grossness and kind of barbarity in respect to the exercises of the mind. The Roman youth, who seemed then to awake out of a profound sleep,

* Postea quàm imperio omnium gentium constituto, diuturnitas pacis otium confirmavit, nemo fere laudis cupidus ado-

lescens non sibi ad dicendum studio omni enitendum putavit. *Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 14.*

became sensible to a new species of glory unknown to their ancestors, and began to open their eyes, and conceive a taste for eloquence.

In order to give some idea of the beginning, progress, perfection, and decline of eloquence, I shall divide the Roman orators into four ages; but shall expatiate only upon such of them as are most known either by their works or reputation.

S E C T. I.

First age of the Roman orators.

THE Romans, in the arms of peace, the friend of science, and mother of leisure, made at first some efforts for the attainment of eloquence. * But as they were entirely ignorant of the means it was necessary to use for acquiring it, and had no other guide but their own reason and reflections, they made but little progress. It was necessary to call in conquered Greece to the aid of her victors. As soon as the Grecian rhetoricians had been heard at Rome, had taught there, and their books began to be read, the Roman youth conceived an incredible ardor for eloquence.

*Ancient
History,
Vol. XI.
Part 2.*

We have seen elsewhere what difficulties it met with on its first entrance into Rome, and what obstacles it had to surmount for establishing itself there. But it is of the nature of eloquence to conquer opposition, and to force the barriers laid in its way. It got the better at Rome, notwithstanding the endeavours of Cato, who, though a great

* Ac primò quidem totius rationis ignari, qui neque exercitationis ullam viam, neque aliquod præceptum artis esse arbitrantur, tantum, quantum ingenio & cogitatione poterant, conſequebantur. Poſt autem,

auditis oratoribus Græcis, cognitisque eorum literis, adhibitisque doctores, incredibili quodam noſtri homines dicendi ſtudio flagrauerunt. *Lib. I. de Orat. n. 14.*

orator himself, was against the people's devoting themselves too much to the arts of Greece; and in a short time became the reigning study there. The greatest men afterwards, as Scipio and Lælius, had always learned Greeks about them, from whom they made it their glory to receive lessons. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 155.

To proceed to the orators of the first age, the most known are Cato the Censor, the Gracchi, Scipio Æmilianus, and Lælius. They had excellent natural parts, a wonderful fund of wit, great order in their discourse, force in their proofs, solidity in their thoughts, and energy: but neither art, delicacy, grace, care in the arrangement of words, nor knowledge of the numbers and harmony of speech.

CATO had composed an infinite number of orations. More than an hundred and fifty of them were extant in Cicero's time: but they were not read. * He affirms however that his eloquence wants only those lively figures, and glowing colours, which were not known in his time. Cic. in Brut. n. 65.

The GRACCHI distinguished themselves also by an eloquence manly and vigorous, but void of ornaments. Cicero has preserved some lines of a discourse spoke by young Gracchus after his brother's death, which are very lively and pathetic, and which he has imitated himself in the peroration of his defence of Murena. *Quò me miser conferam? quò vertam? In capitoliumne? at fratris sanguine redundat. An domum? matremne ut miseram lamentantemque videam, & abjectam?* "Where shall I go, whither shall I turn myself, miserable as I am? Shall it be to the capitol? but that still reeks with my brother's blood. Shall I go home? what, to behold my mother's sorrow, to hear her Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 215.

* Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis nisi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem & colorem defuisse. Brut. n. 298.

Lib. 10.
c. 3.

“mourn, and see her lying inſolable on the
“ground?” If the reſt of his diſcourſe reſembled
theſe few lines, it did not give place in any thing to
theſe of Cicero. * In pronouncing them, every thing
ſpoke in him, his eyes, voice, geſture; ſo that his
enemies themſelves could not refrain from tears. Au-
lus Gellius has preſerved two fragments of the diſ-
courſe of C. Gracchus, which are not of the ſame
taſte with that cited by Cicero. They are elegant,
but cold, though the ſubject is weighty and affect-
ing. It was the ſame Gracchus who had always a
ſlave behind him with a flute, to give him notice
when to raiſe or lower his voice.

Quintilian frequently oppoſes the ſtyle of the
age we ſpeak of to that of his own times, and
gives us an excellent precept on that head.
“† Youth, ſays he, have two great faults to
“ſhun. The firſt would be, if, upon the recom-
“mendation of any exceſſive admirer of the anci-
“ents, they ſhould ſtudy and imitate the orations
“of Cato, the Gracchi, and the like authors; for
“that would render their ſtyle ſtiff, dry, and
“rugged. The oppoſite fault is, their being
“charmed with the glittering prettineſs, the fine-
“ry of the ſoft effeminate ſtyle now in faſhion,
“and ſpoiling their taſte by a fondneſs for a gau-
“dy luſcious kind of eloquence, the more dan-

* Quæ ſic ab illo acta eſſe
conſtabat, oculis, voce, geſtu,
inimici ut lacrymas tenere non
poſſent. *Brut. n.* 298.

† Duo genera maximè ca-
venda pueris puto. Unum,
ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius
admirator in Gracchorum Ca-
toniſque, & aliorum ſimilium
leſtione dureſcere velit: ſient
enim horridi & jejuni.—
Alterum quod huic diverſum
eſt, ne recentis hujus laſciviæ
ſoſculis capti, voluptate qua-

dam prava deliniantur, ut
prædulce illud genus, & pue-
rilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quo
propius eſt, adament. Firmis
autem judiciis, jamque extra
periculum poſitis, ſuaſerim &
antiquos legere, ex quibus ſi
aſſumatur ſolida ac virilis inge-
nii vis, deterſo rudis ſeculi
ſqualore, tum noſter hic cultus
clariùs eniteſcet; & novos,
quibus & ipſis multa virtus
adeſt. *Quintil. l.* 2. c. 6.

“gerous

“gerous for them, as the more grateful to their
 “age and character. But when their judgment
 “is formed, and they are safe on that side, I
 “would advise them, continues he, to read the
 “ancients, whose strong and manly eloquence,
 “when separated from the rudeness and inelegance
 “of the gross age in which they lived, will su-
 “stain, and even exalt, the beauties and orna-
 “ments of ours. I would also exhort them to
 “study the moderns attentively, who are excel-
 “lent in parts, and may be of great use to
 “them.”

I thought this passage of Quintilian proper in this place for explaining the style of the times in question: besides which it includes very judicious advice, that the youth of the present age may also apply to their advantage.

I shall not enter into the character of the eloquence of Scipio and Lælius; and assure myself, that, though it favoured of the age they lived in, it was far from the roughness of Cato's and the Gracchi. I shall only relate here a fact highly for the honour of Lælius, and which shews how far he carried his candour and integrity. He had ta- Brut. n. 85
 ken upon him the care of a very important cause, --- 88.
 and pleaded it with abundance of eloquence. The judges however did not think his arguments sufficed to determine their sentence, and referred it to another hearing. Lælius laboured it anew, and pleaded it a second time, but with the same success as before. Upon which, without farther delay, he obliged his clients to put their cause into the hands of Galba, a famous orator of those times, who was more vehement and pathetic than him. It was not without great difficulty, that he was prevailed upon to undertake it; however he carried it unanimously by his first pleading. “It was
 “then, as in all other things, the better and more
 “human custom, says Cicero, to be easy in doing
 VOL. XII. R “justice

“ justice to the merit of others, though at one’s
 “ own expence.” *Erat omnino tum mos, ut in reli-*
quis rebus melior, sic in hoc ipso humanior : ut faci-
les essent in suum cuique tribuendo.

S E C T. II.

Second age of the Roman orators.

I Shall place four orators in this second age : An-
 tony and Crassus, more advanced in years ;
 and Cotta and Sulpitius, younger men. They
 are hardly known by any thing but what Cicero tells
 us of them in his books of rhetoric. He * ob-
 serves, it was under the two first that the Roman
 eloquence, having attained a kind of maturity, be-
 gan to be capable of entering the lists with that of
 the Greeks.

Lib. 1. de ANTONY, in his voyage to Cilicia, whither
 Orat. n. 8. he went proconsul, stopped for some time at A-
 Lib. 2. de thens and in the island of Rhodes upon different
 Orat. n. 3. pretexts, but in reality for the opportunity of con-
 versing with the most able rhetoricians, and in or-
 der to improve himself in eloquence by their in-
 structions. He however always affected from
 thenceforth to appear ignorant of what the Greeks
 taught in respect to the art of speaking, with the
 view of rendering his eloquence thereby the less
 suspected. And † he accordingly was generally
 supposed by his hearers to come to the bar, and to
 plead his causes, almost without preparation. But,

Ibid. n.
 153.

* Quod idcirco posui, ut
 dicendi Latine prima maturi-
 tas in qua ætate extitisset, pos-
 set animadverti. *Cic. in Brut.*
 n. 161.

Ego sic existimo—in his
 primum cum Græcorum gloria
 Latine dicendi copiam æqua-
 ram. *Ib. n. 138.*

† Erat memoria summa,
 nulla meditationis suspicio. Im-
 paratus semper aggredi ad di-
 cendum videbatur: sed ita erat
 paratus, ut Judices, illo dicen-
 te, nonnunquam viderentur
 non satis parati ad cavendum
 fuisse. *Brut. n. 139.*

in reality, he was so well prepared, that the judges were often not enough so in their distrust of him. Nothing for the success of his cause escaped him. He knew how to dispose every proof in the place, where it made most impression. He was less attentive to the delicacy and elegance of his terms, than to their force and energy. He seemed to regard only things in themselves, and right reason: in a word, he had all the great qualities of an orator, and supported them wonderfully by the force and dignity of his utterance.

In the second book of the Orator he traces the plan himself of an oration which he pronounced in defence of Norbanus, who was justly prosecuted as the author of a sedition: a cause, as it is easy to conceive, of a very tender and difficult nature. He treated it with such art, force, and eloquence, as wrested the criminal from the severity of the judges: and he confesses himself, that he carried his cause less by the strength of reason, than the vehemence of the passions he knew how to introduce with judgment. *Ita magis affectis animis judicium, quam doctis, tua, Sulpiti, est à nobis tum accusatio victa.* Sulpitius, the advocate on the other side, had notwithstanding left the judges perfectly convinced of the justice of his cause, and highly incensed against Norbanus: *Cum tibi ego, non judicium, sed incendium tradidissem.* Nothing is more capable of forming young pleaders than the plan of this harangue: but they ought not to imitate the use Antony made at that time of his talents for saving a criminal from the punishment he deserved.

CRASSUS was the only orator that could be ranked with Antony, and some give him the preference to the other. He was but three years younger than him. His peculiar character was * an

Lib. 2 de
Orat. n.
197—203

Brut. n.
143.

* Erat summa gravitas: erat cum gravitate junctus facetiarum & urbanitatis oratorius non

scurrilis lepos. Latinè loquendi accurata & sine molestiâ diligens elegantia, &c.

air of gravity and dignity, which he knew how to temper with an insinuating politeness, and even refined pleasantry and raillery, that never forgot the decency of the orator. His language was pure and correct with elegance, but easy and void of affectation. He explained himself with wonderful clearness, and exalted the beauty of his discourse by the strength of his proofs, and agreeable allusions and similitudes.

When Crassus had to do with persons of merit and reputation, he took care to proceed with tenderness and reserve, and employed no raillery in respect to them that could shock or offend: *in quo genere nulli aculei contumeliarum inerant.* * A moderation very extraordinary in those who value themselves upon pleasantry, and who find it very hard to keep in a smart saying when it comes uppermost, and which they think it for their honour to vent. But he behaved differently in respect to such as gave room for it by their bad conduct. One Brutus, of whom I am going to speak, was of this number. He had taken up the business of an accuser for the sake of the rewards granted by the laws to such as convicted criminals: a calling which was looked upon at Rome as highly unworthy of a man of condition and probity, though a young man was approved there for making himself known by accusing some person of importance. This Brutus was universally scandalous as a prodigal who had squandered his estate in excesses and debauchery. Pleading one day against Crassus, he caused two speeches of that orator to be read, in which he had manifestly contradicted himself. Crassus was highly nettled, and knew well how to be even with him. For that purpose he

* Quod est hominibus facit & dicacibus difficillimum, habere hominum rationem & temporum, & ea, quæ occur-

rant, cum falsissime dici possunt, tenere. 2. de Orat. n. 221.

caused three dialogues of Brutus's father to be read also, in each of which, according to a custom common enough, mention was made in the beginning of the country house where the conversation was supposed to be held. After having by this method introduced the names and reality of three estates which his father had left him, he asked him with bitter reproaches what was become of them.

An * accidental circumstance gave Crassus occasion to treat him in the same cause with a quite different force and vivacity, and to unite the most severe invectives with raillery. Whilst they were pleading in the forum, where every body knows all great causes were tried, the funeral procession of a Roman lady passed by, at the head of which, according to the ceremonies practised on such occasions at Rome, the images of her ancestors were carried: she was of the family of the *Junii*, of which that of Brutus was a branch. Upon this unexpected sight, Crassus, as if transported with a sudden enthusiasm, fixing his eyes on Brutus, with the most animated voice and gesture: “ Why do

* *Quis est qui non fateatur, hoc lepore atque iis facietis non minus refutatam esse Brutum, quam illis tragædiis, quas egit idem, cum casu in eadem causa cum funere efferretur anus Junia? Proh dii immortales! Quæ fuit illa, quanta vis, quam inexpectata, quam repentina! cum, coniectis oculis, gestu omni imminente, summa gravitate & celeritate verborum: Brute, quid sedes? Quid illam anum patri nunciare vis tuo? Quid illis omnibus, quorum imagines duci vides? Quid Lucio Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatu regio liberavit? Quid te facere? Cui rei, cui gloriæ, cui virtuti studere? Patrimo-*

nione augendo? At id non est nobilitatis. Sed fac esse. Nihil superest: libidines totum dissipaverunt An juri civili? Est paternum. Sed Ec.— An rei militari, qui numquam castra videris? An eloquentiæ, quæ nulla est in te, & quicquid est vocis ac linguæ, omne in istum turpissimum calumniæ quæstum contulisti? Tu lucem aspicere audes? Tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium esse conspectu? Tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipsas non perhorrescis: quibus non modo imitandis, sed ne collocandis quidem tibi nullum locum reliquisti?
Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 223—226.

“ you sit, Brutus? said he, What news would you have this good old lady carry to your father, and to those great men, whose images you see borne before her? What shall she say of you to your ancestors, and particularly to Lucius Brutus, who delivered this people from the tyranny of kings? What shall she tell them you do? What business, what glory, what virtue shall she say you study? Is it to encrease your patrimony? That would not suit your birth; besides your debauches have entirely eaten up that. Is it the civil law? Your father’s example might induce you to it; but of that you don’t so much as know the most common principles. Is war your study? No, you never saw a camp. Or eloquence? Of that too you know nothing: and as for the volubility of your tongue and the strength of your lungs, you devote them wholly in this place to the vile and execrable traffic of gain by calumnies. And do you dare to see the sun? To look the judges in the face, to appear at the bar, in the forum, the city, and in the sight of the people? Are you not struck with shame and horror at this procession, that deceased lady and those venerable images, whose glory you dishonour so much by your infamous practices?” A passage like this suffices to shew us what we are to judge of the character and merit of Crassus’s eloquence.

To this rare talent he added great knowledge of the civil law; in which however Scævola far exceeded him. He was the most learned civilian, and one of the most celebrated orators of his time. They * were both almost of the same age, had

* Illud gaudeo, quòd & æqualitas vestra, & pares honorum gradus, & artium studiorumque quasi finitima vicinitas, tantum abest ab obtrecta-

tione invidiæ, quæ solet lacerare plerosque, uti ea non modò non exulcerare vestram gratiam, sed etiam conciliare videatur. *Brut. n. 156.*

passed through the same dignities, and applied themselves to the same functions and studies. This resemblance, and kind of equality, far from exciting the least thought of jealousy, as it often happens, and from making the least change whatsoever in their friendship, only served to improve and augment it.

I shall say only a few words of the two young orators, Cotta and Sulpitius, who at this time made a shining figure at the bar. The character of their eloquence was quite different.

COTTA's † invention was penetrating and acute: his elocution pure and flowing. As the weakness of his lungs obliged him to avoid all violent exertions of voice, he took care to adapt his style and manner of composing to the infirmity of his organs. Every thing in it was just, neat, and strong. But what was most admirable in him, as he could make no very great use of the vehement and impetuous style, and consequently could not influence the judges by the vigour of his discourse; he had however the address in treating his matter, to produce the same effect upon them by his calm and composed manner, as Sulpitius by his ardent and animated eloquence.

The style of SULPITIUS, on the contrary, was * lofty, vehement, and to use the expression, tragical.

† Inveniebat igitur acutè Cotta, dicebat purè ac solutè: & ut ad infirmitatem laterum perficeret contentionem omnem remiserat, sic ad virium imbecillitatem dicendi accommodabat genus. Nihil erat in ejus oratione nisi sincerum, nihil nisi siccum, atque sanum: illudque maximum, quòd, cum contentione orationis flectere animos Judicum vix posset, nec omnino eo genere diceret, trac-

tando tamen impellebat, ut idem facerent à se commoti, quod à Sulpitio concitati. *Brut.* n. 202.

* Fuit enim Sulpitius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem ego audiverim, grandis, &, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator. Vox cum magna, tum suavis & splendida: gestus & motus corporis ita venustus, ut tamen ad forum non ad scenam institutus videretur. Incitata & vo-

tragical. His voice was strong, sweet, and clear; the gesture and motion of his body extremely graceful and agreeable; but that grace of action suited the bar not the stage. His discourse was rapid and abundant, but without any vicious redundance or superfluity. Sulpitius made Crassus his model; Cotta was better pleased with Antony. But the latter had neither Antony's force, nor the former Crassus's pleasantry.

There was a remarkable difference between Cotta and Sulpitius. The latter was cut off in his youth, whereas Cotta lived to an advanced age, was consul, and pleaded with Hortensius, who was however much younger than him.

The example of Cotta and Sulpitius shews, that two orators may both be excellent without resembling each other; and that the important point is to discern aright, to what nature or genius inclines us, and to take her for our guide. These had the good fortune to find two great masters and most friendly guides in Antony and Crassus, who spared no pains, and made it their pleasure, to form them for eloquence.

S E C T III.

Third age of the Roman orators.

THIS is the golden age of the Roman eloquence, which was of short duration, but shone out with great lustre, and almost equalled Rome with Athens. It produced a great number of excellent orators, Hortensius, Cæsar, who would have been an orator of the first class, if he had kept to the bar, Brutus, Messala, and many others, who all acquired great reputation amongst the Romans, though their orations are not come down to us. But Cicero obscures the glory of all the rest, and may be considered as the most perfect

& volubilis, nec ea redundans tamen, nec circumfluens oratio. Crassum hic volebat imitari, Cotta malebat Antonium.

Sed ab hoc vis aberat Antonii, Crassi ab illo lepos. *Ibid.* n. 203.

model

model of the Roman eloquence that ever appeared in the world. I must desire the reader's permission for referring him to the treatise upon study, where I have expatiated largely upon Cicero, and the character of his eloquence, of which, for that reason, there remains little for me to say. Vol. 2.

He was indebted to nature for an happy genius, which his father took care to cultivate in a particular manner, under the direction of Crassus, who laid down the plan of his studies. He had the most able masters of those times at Rome, and went afterwards into Greece and Asia minor, to learn the precepts of Oratory at their source. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 2.

His brother * Quintus believed, that nature alone, with the aid of frequent exercise, sufficed to form the orator. Cicero was of a very different opinion, and was convinced, that the talent of speaking could only be acquired by a vast extent of erudition. Accordingly, persuaded that without the most tenacious application, and an ardor that rose almost to passion, nothing great could be attained, he devoted himself wholly to laborious study. The fruits of it soon appeared, and from his first shewing himself at the bar, he was distinguished by universal applause.

He had a fertile, warm, and shining wit; a rich and lively imagination; a polished, florid, abundant, and luxuriant style; which last quality is no fault in a young orator. Every body knows, that Cicero when master of the art, in laying down rules, is for having youth display fertility and abundance in their compositions: *Volo se efferat in adolescente fecunditas.* Quintilian † of Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 88.

* Soles nonnunquam hac de re à me in disputationibus nostris dissentire, quod ego eruditissimorum hominum artibus eloquentiam contineri statuam; tu autem illam ab elegantia doctrinæ segregandam putes,

& in quodam ingenii atque exercitationis genere ponendam. Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 5.

† In pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi nec sperari potest: melior autem est indoles læta generosique conatus, & vel plura

ten and strongly recommends to masters, not to expect or require finished and perfect discourses from their disciples. He prefers a bold freedom in their exercises, which grows wanton whilst it makes efforts, and exceeds the bounds of the exact and the just. It is easy to correct abundance, but there is no curing sterility.

In Orat.
n 107,
108.

Cicero himself cites an example of this luxuriant and too florid style from his own defence of Roscius Amerinus, who was accused of parricide. In a great commonplace upon parricide, after having described the punishment established by the Roman laws for such as were convicted of it, which was to sow them up in a leathern bag, with a dog, a cock, a serpent, and an ape, and to throw them into the sea, he adds the following reflection, to shew the enormity of the crime by the singularity of the punishment, the choice of which seems to have had in view the excluding of an ungrateful wretch from the use of all nature, who had been so unnatural to deprive his father of life. *Quid est tam commune quam spiritus vivis, terra mortuis, mare fluctuantibus, litus ejectis? Ita vivunt, dum possunt, ut ducere animam de cælo non queant: ita moriuntur, ut eorum ossa terra non tangat: ita jactantur fluctibus, ut nunquam abluantur: ita postremo ejiciuntur, ut ne ad saxa quidem mortui conquiescant, &c.* “What is there so common as the air we breathe to the living, the earth to the dead, the water to those who go by sea, and the shore to those who are driven by the waves. By the invention of this punishment, these unhappy wretches, during the short time they retain life in it, live without power to respire the air, and die in such a manner, that their bones cannot touch the earth: they are tossed to and fro in

Pro Rosc.
Amer. n.
75.

plura concipiens interim spiritus - Facile remedium est ubertatis: sterilia nullo labore vincuntur. *Quintil.* l. 2. c. 4.

“ the waves, without being washed by them ;
 “ and are driven against the rocks and shores, so
 “ as never to rest or lie still even in death.”

The whole * passage upon the punishment of parricides, and especially that part of it just quoted, was received with extraordinary applauses. But Cicero, some time after, began to perceive, that this common place favoured too much of the young man, (he was then twenty-seven years old,) and that if he had been applauded, it was less from any real beauty in the passage, than the hopes and promise he then gave of his future merit. And indeed this passage has nothing in it but a glitter without solidity, which dazzles for a moment, but will not bear the least serious examination. The thoughts are far-fetched and unnatural, with a studied affectation of Antithesis and Contrast.

Cicero very much reformed his taste, and after In Brut. n. 316. going to Athens, and into Asia minor, where, as celebrated as he was for pleading, he became the disciple of the learned rhetoricians who taught there, he returned to Rome almost entirely changed from what he was when he left it. † Molo the Rhodian in particular was of great use to him, in teaching him to retrench the superfluity and redundancy, that proceeded from the warmth and vivacity of his years, and in accustoming him to a less diffused style, to keep within just bounds, and to give his discourse more weight and maturity.

The emulation excited in him by the great success of his friend, but rival, Hortensius, was of infinite

* *Quantis illa clamoribus
 adolescentuli diximus de sup-
 plicio parricidarum ! quæ ne-
 quaquam satis deferbuisset post
 aliquanto sentire cœpimus. Sunt
 enim omnia sicut adolescentis,
 non tam re & maturitate quam
 spe & expectatione laudati.*

*modò id consequi potuit, ut
 nimis redundantes nos & su-
 perfluentes juvenili quadam di-
 cendi impunitate reprimeret, &
 quasi extra ripas diffuentes co-
 erceret. Ita recepi me, bien-
 nio post, non modò exercita-
 tior, sed propè mutatus.*

† Molo dedit operam, si

Belles
Lettres,
Vol. 2.

service to him. I have spoken of it elsewhere with sufficient extent. He seems from thenceforth to have formed the design of carrying from Greece, or at least of disputing with her, the glory of eloquence. He exerted himself in every branch of it courageously, without neglecting one. The simple, the florid, and the sublime styles became equally familiar to him; and he has given us the most finished models in those three species of eloquence. He mentions several * places in his treatise *De Oratore*, where he had employed those different kinds of style; and ingenuously confesses that if he has not attained perfection in them, he has at least attempted and shadowed it. Nobody knew the heart of man better than him, nor succeeded better in moving the springs of it, † whether he insinuates into his hearer's favour by the soft and tender passions, or uses those which require bold figures, vehemence, and all that eloquence has of strongest and most affecting. To be convinced of this, the reader has only to consult his perorations. When || pleadings were divided, this last part was always left to him, in which he never failed to succeed in a peculiar manner; not, says he, that he had more wit than others, but because he was more moved and affected himself, without which his discourse would not have been capable of moving and affecting the judges.

* Nulla est ullo in genere laus oratoris, cujus in nostris orationibus non sit aliqua, si non perfectio, at conatus tamen atque adumbratio. Non assequimur, at, quid deceat, videmus. *Orat. n. 103.*

† Hujus eloquentiæ est tractare animos, hujus omni modo permovere. Hæc modò perstringit, modò irreperit in sensus :

inferit novas opiniones, evellit infitas. *Orat. n. 97.*

|| Si plures dicebamus, perorationem mihi tamen omnes relinquebant: in quo ut viderer excellere, non ingenio sed dolore assequebar— nec unquam is qui audiret incenderetur, nisi ardens ad eum perveniret oratio. *Orat. n. 130, 132.*

It was this admirable * union and application of all the different qualities of the orator, that occasioned the rapid success of Cicero's pleadings. He owns himself, that Rome had never seen or heard any thing of the like nature before ; and that this new species of eloquence charmed the hearers, and carried off all suffrages. That of the antients, as I have observed before, had abundance of solidity, but was entirely void of grace and ornament. † Rome, which to their time had neither literature nor delicacy of ear, suffered, and even went so far as to admire, them. Hortensius had begun to throw graces into discourse. But besides his negligence in that respect at length, from his being contented with, and secure, as he thought, of, his reputation, the ornaments he used consisted rather in words and turns of phrase than thoughts, and had more elegance than real beauty.

Cicero industriously gave eloquence all the graces of which it was susceptible, but without lessening the solidity and gravity of discourse. He departed a little in this from the method of Demosthenes, who solely attentive to things in themselves, and not in the least to his own reputation, goes on directly to the end in view, and neglects every thing merely ornamental. || Our orator thought

* *Jejunas hujus multiplicis & æquabiliter in omnia genera fusæ orationis aures civitatis accepimus, easque nos primi, quicumque eramus, & quantumcumque dicebamus, ad hujus generis dicendi, audiendi, incredibilia studia convertimus.* *Orat.* n. 106.

Propter exquisitius & minimè vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converteram. *Brut.* n. 321.

† Erant, nondum tritis ho-

minum auribus & erudita civitate, tolerabiles. *Brut.* n. 124.

|| Ne illis quidem nimium repugno, qui dandum putant non nihil esse temporibus atque auribus, nitidius aliquid atque affectatius postulantis. — Atque id fecisse M. Tullium video, ut cum omnia utilitati, tum partem quandam delectationi daret : cum & ipsam se rem agere diceret (agebat autem maximè litigatoris. Nam hoc ipso proderat, quod placebat. *Quintil.* l. 12. c. 10.

himself obliged to comply in some measure with the taste of his times, and the delicacy of the Romans, which required a more pleasing and florid style. He never lost sight of the public utility, but was studious at the same time of pleasing the judges; and in this he said, he served his country more effectually: for his discourse in being agreeable, was necessarily the more persuasive. * This beauty, this charm of style, diffused throughout the orations of Cicero, made him seem to obtain that by gentle means, which he actually seized by force; whilst the judges, who conceived they did no more than follow him of their own accord, were borne away by *bright illusion* and imperious vehemence.

He also enriched the Roman eloquence with another advantage, which highly exalted its value: I mean the disposition of words, which conduces infinitely to the beauty of discourse. † For the most agreeable and most solid thoughts, if the terms in which they are expressed want arrangement and numerosity, offend the ear, of which the sense is exceedingly delicate. The ‖ Greeks had been almost four hundred years in possession of this kind of beauty in the admirable works of their writers, who had carried the sweetness and harmony of disposition to its highest perfection. I have observed in the beginning of this volume, in what manner Cicero acquired the Roman language this improvement.

* Cui tanta unquam jucunditas affuit? Ut ipsa illa quæ extorquet, impetrare eum credas; & cum transversum vi sua Judicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur, sed sequi. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

† Quamvis graves suavesque sententiæ, tamen si inconditis

verbis efferuntur, offendunt aures, quarum est judicium superbissimum. *Orat. n. 150.*

‖ Et apud Græcos quidem jam anni prope quadringenti, cum hoc (numerus) probatur: nos nuper agnovimus. *Orat. n. 171.*

As much must be said of all the other parts of eloquence, * of which he either gave the Romans the first knowledge, or at least carried them to their highest perfection : and in this Cæsar had reason to say, that Cicero had rendered his country great service. For by his means Rome, which gave place to Greece only in this kind of glory, deprived her of it, or, perhaps, rose to the point of dividing it with her.

Cicero in consequence may truly be said to be in respect to Rome, what Demosthenes had before been to Athens : that is to say, that each on his side carried eloquence to the highest perfection it ever attained.

S E C T. IV.

Fourth age of the Roman orators.

IT is the usual lot of human things, when they have attained their highest perfection, to decline soon, and to degenerate ever after. Eloquence, as well as history and poetry, experienced this sad fatality at Rome. Some few years after the death of Augustus, that region, so fertile of fine works and noble productions, † bore no more of those excellent fruits, which had done it so much honour ; and as if it had been universally blasted, that bloom of Roman urbanity, that is to say, the extreme delicacy of taste, which prevailed in all works of wit and learning, withered and disappeared almost on a sudden.

* Cæsar Tullium, non solum principem atque inventorem copiæ dixit, quæ erât magna laus ; sed etiam bene meritum de populi Romani nomine & dignitate. Quo enim uno vincebatur à victa Græcia, id aut

ereptum illis est, aut certe nobis cum illis communicatum.

Brut. n. 254.

† Omnis sætus repressus, exustusque flos sibi veteris ubertatis exaruit. *Brut. n. 16.*

A man highly estimable in other respects for his fine genius, rare talents, and learned works, occasioned this change in eloquence: it is easy to perceive that I mean *SENECA*. A too great esteem for himself, a kind of jealousy for the great men who had appeared before him, a violent desire of distinguishing himself, and to use the expression, of forming a sect, and being the leader for others to follow, made him quit the usual track, and throw himself into paths that were new and unknown to the antients.

The best things are abused, and even virtues themselves become vices when excessive and carried too far. The graces with which Cicero had embellished and enriched the Roman eloquence, were dispensed soberly and with great judgment: but Seneca lavished them without discretion or measure. In the writings of the first, the ornaments were grave, manly, majestic and proper for exalting the dignity of a Queen: in those of the second, one might almost term them the finery of a Courtesan, which, far from adding new lustre to the natural beauty of eloquence, by the profusion of pearls and gems, disguised, and made it disappear. For the foil of Seneca is admirable. No antient author has either so many, so fine, or so solid thoughts as him. But he spoils them by the turn he gives them, by the antitheses and quibbles with which they are usually larded, by an excessive affectation of ending almost every period with an epigrammatic point, or a kind of glittering thought, a conceit very like it. This made Quintilian say, it were to be wished, that Seneca in composing had used his own genius, but another's judgment. *Velles cum sua ingenio dixisse, alieno judicio*. What I have observed of him elsewhere with great extent, dispenses with my saying more of him in this place.

Lib. I. c. I.

Belles
Lettres,
Vol. 2.

PLINY *the Younger.*

The AUTHOR, of whom I am going to speak, is one of those persons of antiquity that best deserve to be known. I shall first trace a plan of his life from his own letters, in which we shall find all the qualities of the man of honour and probity, with the most amiable goodness of heart and generosity it is possible to imagine. I shall then proceed to give some idea of his style by extracts from his panegyric upon Trajan, which is the only piece of his eloquence come down to us.

Abridgement of the life of Pliny the younger.

PLINY the younger was born at Coma, a city A. D. 61. of Italy. His mother was Pliny the Naturalist's sister, who adopted him for his son.

Having lost his father very early, Virginius Rufus, one of the greatest persons of his age, was his guardian, who always considered him as his own son, and took particular care of him. Virginius, whose virtues had rendered him suspected, and even odious to the emperors, had however the good fortune to escape their jealousy and hatred. He lived to the age of fourscore and three, always happy and admired. The emperor Trajan caused his obsequies to be solemnized with great magnificence; and Tacitus the historian, who was then consul, pronounced his funeral oration. Epist. 1.
l. 2.

Pliny was no less happy in masters, than he had been in a guardian. We have seen elsewhere, that he studied rhetoric under Quintilian, and that, of all his disciples, he was the person who did him most honour, and also expressed most gratitude for him. The whole sequel of his life will shew the taste he had acquired for polite learning of every kind in the school of that celebrated rhetorician.

Epist. 4. At the age of fourteen he composed a Greek tragedy. He exercised himself afterwards in every species of poetry, which he made his amusement.

l. 7.
Ep. 6. l. 6. He believed it necessary to hear also Nicetas of Smyrna, a celebrated Greek rhetorician, who was then at Rome.

Ep. 14. l. 1. I include Rusticus Arulenus in the number of his masters, who had been tribune of the people in 69, and who professed Stoic philosophy. His merit

Domitian. and virtue were crimes under an emperor, who was the declared enemy of both, and occasioned the loss of his life. He had taken particular care to form Pliny for virtue, who always retained the highest gratitude for his memory.

Ep. 10. l. 1. Pliny was sent into Syria, where he served for some years at the head of a legion. All the leisure his duty afforded him there, he devoted to the lectures and conversations of Euphrates, a famous philosopher, who believed then that he saw in Pliny all that he afterwards proved. He gives us a fine picture of that philosopher. His * air, says he, is serious, without sourness or ill-nature. His presence inspires respect, but neither fear nor awe. His extreme politeness is equalled only by the purity of his manners. He makes war upon vices, not persons; and reforms such as err, but without insulting them.

On his return to Rome, he attached himself more closely than ever to Pliny the Naturalist, who had adopted him, and in whom he had the good fortune to find a father, master, model, and excellent guide. He collected his slightest discourses, and studied all his actions.

His uncle, then fifty-six years old, was obliged to repair to the coast of Naples, in order to take

* Nullus horror in vultu, nulla tristitia, multum severitatis. Reverentis occursum, non reformides. Vitæ sanctitas

summa, comitas par. Infectatur vitia, non homines: nec castigat errantes, sed emendat.

upon him the command of the Roman fleet at Misenum. Pliny the younger attended him thither, where he lost him by the unhappy accident I have related elsewhere.

Destitute of that support, he sought no other than his own merit, and applied himself wholly to public affairs. He pleaded his first cause at nineteen years of age. Young as he was, he spoke before the Centumviri in an affair, wherein he was under the necessity of contending with all the persons of the highest credit in Rome, without excepting those, whom the prince honoured with his favour. * It was this action that first made him known, and opened the way for the reputation he afterwards acquired. He retained from thenceforth an approbation as universal as extraordinary in a city, where neither competitors nor envy were idle. He had more than once the satisfaction of seeing the entrance of the bar entirely shut up by the multitude of hearers, who waited when he was to plead. He was obliged to go to his place through the tribunal where the judges sat; and sometimes spoke seven hours, when himself was the only person tired in the assembly.

He never pleaded but for the public interests, his friends, or those whose ill fortune had left them none. Most of the other advocates sold their assistance, and to glory, of old the sole reward of so noble an employment, had substituted a sordid traffic of gain. Trajan, to reform that disorder, published a † decree, which at the same time it gave Pliny great pleasure, did him no less ho-

* *Illa actio mihi aures hominum, illa januam famæ patefecit.*

† *It was ordained by this decree, that all persons who had causes should make oath that they had neither given nor promised,*

nor caused to be given or promised, any thing to the advocate concerned for them. After the suit was determined, it admitted giving to the amount of ten thousand sesterces, (about 60l. sterling.) Ep. 21. l. 5.

nour. “ How pleased I am, said he, not only
 “ never to have entered into any agreement about
 “ the causes in which I have been concerned, but
 “ to have always refused all kind of presents, and
 “ even new-years gifts, upon account of them!
 “ * It is true indeed, that every thing repugnant
 “ to honour is to be avoided, not as prohibited,
 “ but as infamous. There is however great satisf-
 “ faction in seeing that prohibited, which one
 “ never allowed one’s self to do.”

Ep. 23.1.6. He made it a pleasure, and even a duty, to as-
 sist with his advice, and to produce young persons
 of family and hopes at the bar. He would not
 undertake some causes, but upon condition of ha-
 ving a young advocate joined with him in them.

Ep. 11.1.6. † It was the highest joy to him, to see them begin
 to distinguish themselves in pleading, by treading
 in his steps, and following his counsels. From how
 good an heart, from what a fund of love for the
 public, do such sentiments flow!

It was by these steps that Pliny soon rose to the
 highest dignities of the state. He always retained
 the virtues in them by which they were acquired.
 In the time of Domitian he was prætor.

That savage prince, who looked upon innocence
 of manners as a censure of his own conduct, ba-
 nished all the philosophers from Rome and Italy.

Ep. 11.1.3. Artemidorus, one of Pliny’s friends, was of this
 number, and had withdrawn to an house that he
 had without the gates of the city. “ I went thi-
 “ ther to see him, says Pliny, at a time when my
 “ visit was most remarkable and most dangerous.

* Oportet quidem quæ sunt
 inhonestæ, non quasi illicitæ,
 sed quasi pudenda, vitare. Ju-
 cundum tamen, si prohiberi
 publicè videas, quod nunquam
 tibi ipse permisisset.

† O diem lætum, notan-

dumque mihi candidissimo cal-
 culo! Quid enim aut publicè
 lætius, quam clarissimos juve-
 nes nomen & famam ex studiis
 petere; aut mihi optatius,
 quam me ad recta tendentibus
 quasi exemplar esse propositum?

“ I was

" I was prætor. He could not discharge the
 " debts he had contracted for many noble uses
 " without a great sum of money. Some of the
 " richest and most powerful of his friends would
 " not see the difficulty he was under. As to me,
 " I borrowed the sum, and made him a present of
 " it. I had however great reason to tremble for
 " myself. Seven of my friends had just before
 " either been banished or put to death. Of the
 " latter were Senecio, Rusticus and Helvidius :
 " the exiles were Mauricus, Gratilla, Arria, and
 " Fannia. * The thunder which fell so often,
 " and still smoked around me, seemed evidently
 " to presage the like fate for myself. But I am
 " far from believing that I deserve on this account
 " all the glory Artemidorus gives me : I only
 " avoided infamy." Where shall we find now
 such friends and such sentiments?

I admire Pliny's good fortune, worthy man as he was, in escaping the cruelty of Domitian. I could wish that he owed this obligation to his master and friend Quintilian, who had undoubtedly great credit with the emperor, especially after he had charged him with the education of his sister's grandsons. History says nothing upon this head : it only informs us, that an accusation fully prepared against Pliny was found amongst Domitian's papers.

The bloody death of that emperor, who was Ep. 5.1.1. A. D. 96. succeeded by Nerva, restored tranquillity to persons of worth, and made the bad tremble in their turn. A famous informer, named Regulus, not satisfied with having fomented the prosecution of Rusticus Arulenus, had besides triumphed over his death, by insulting his memory with writings full of injurious reproaches and insolent ridicule.

* Tot circa me jactis fulminibus quasi ambutus, mihi quoque impendere idem exitum certis quibusdam notis augurarer.

Never was man so abject, cowardly, and creeping, as this wretch appeared after Domitian's death; which is always the case with such venal prostitutes to iniquity, that have no sense of honour. He was afraid of Pliny's resentment, the declared friend of Rusticus in all times. Besides which he had attacked him personally in Domitian's life; and in a public pleading at the bar, had laid a murderous snare for him by an insidious question in respect to a person of worth, whom the emperor had banished, which exposed Pliny to certain danger, had he openly declared the truth, or would have dishonoured him for ever, had he betrayed it. This base wretch left nothing undone to avert Pliny's just revenge, employed the recommendation of his best friends, and came to him at last in person, to implore him with the most abject and abandoned submissions to forget the past. Pliny did not think fit to explain himself, being willing, before he determined in the affair, to wait the arrival of Mauricus, the brother of Rusticus, who was not yet returned from banishment. It is not known how this business ended.

Ep. 13. 1.9. Another of the same kind did him abundance of honour. As soon as Domitian was killed, Pliny, upon mature deliberation, judged the present a very happy occasion for prosecuting the vile, avenging oppressed innocence, and acquiring great glory. He had contracted a particular friendship with Helvidius Priscus, the most virtuous and most revered person of his time, as also with Arria and Fannia, of whom the first was the wife of Pætus Thrasea and Fannia's mother; and the latter the wife of Priscus. The senator Publicius Certus, a man of great power and credit, designed for consul the ensuing year, had urged the death of Helvidius, who was also a senator of consular dignity, even in the senate. Pliny undertook to
avenge

avenge his illustrious friend. Arria and Fannia, who were returned from banishment, joined him in so generous a design. He had never done any thing without the advice of Corellius, whom he considered as the wisest and most able person of the age. But upon this occasion, knowing him to be a man of too timorous and circumspect a prudence, and at the same time, that * in resolutions wisely taken, it is not proper to consult persons, whose counsels are a kind of orders to the asker, he did not impart his design to him, and contented himself with communicating it upon the very day it was to be put in execution, but without asking his opinion. Ep. 17. l. 4.

The senate being assembled, Pliny repaired thither, and demanded permission to speak. He began with great applause, but as soon as he had opened the plan of the accusation, and had sufficiently designed the criminal, without naming him however hitherto, the senate rose up against him on all sides. He heard all their outcries without trouble or emotion, whilst one of his friends of consular dignity intimated to him softly, but in very lively terms, that he had exposed himself with too much courage and too little prudence, and pressed him earnestly to desist from his accusation; adding at the same time, that he would render himself formidable to succeeding emperors. *So much the better*, replied Pliny, *if they are bad ones.*

They at length proceeded to give their opinions, and the first who spoke, which were the most considerable of the senate, apologized for Certus, as if Pliny had actually named him, though he had not yet done so. Almost all the rest declared in his favour.

* Expertus usu, de eo quod destinaveris non esse consulendos, quibus consultis obsequi debeas.

When it came to Pliny's turn to speak, he treated the subject in all its extent, and replied to every thing that had been advanced. It is not conceivable with what attention and applause, even those who a little before had opposed him, received all he said, so sudden was the change produced either by the importance of the cause, the force of the reasons, or the courage of the accuser.

The emperor did not judge it proper that the proceedings should go on. Pliny however carried what he proposed. Certus's colleague obtained the consulship, as had been before intended; but as for himself, another was nominated in his stead.

What an honour was this for Pliny! A single man, by the idea conceived of his zeal for the public good, brings over all the suffrages to his own side, supports the dignity of his order, and restores courage to so august an assembly as the Roman senate, at a time when the terror of the preceding reign still rendered it timorous and almost speechless.

I shall repeat two other occasions also, in which, not as a senator, but an advocate, he displayed both the force of his eloquence, and his just indignation against the oppressors of the people in the provinces. They are both of the same time, but the year is not precisely known,

Ep. 11. l. 2. In the first, " We see an event famous from
" the rank of the person, salutary by the severity
" of the example, and memorable for ever from
" its importance." I shall use Pliny's own words, but shall abridge his account considerably.

" Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, accused
" by the Africans, without proposing any defence,
" confines himself to demanding the ordinary
" judges. Tacitus and myself (says Pliny) being
" charged by order of the senate with the cause
" of

“ of that people, believed it our duty to remon-
 “ strate, that the crimes in question were too
 “ enormous to admit a civil trial. For Priscus
 “ was accused of no less than selling condemnati-
 “ on, and even the lives of innocent persons.—
 “ Vitellius Honoratus and Flavius Martianus were
 “ cited as his accomplices and appeared. The
 “ first was accused of having purchased the ba-
 “ nishment of a Roman knight, and the deaths
 “ of seven of his friends, for three hundred thou- *About*
 “ sand sesterces. The second had given seven *1900 l.*
 “ hundred thousand, to have various torments in- *sterling.*
 “ flicted upon another Roman knight. This lat- *About*
 “ ter had been first condemned to be whipped, *4350 l.*
 “ then sent to the mines, and at last strangled in *sterling.*
 “ prison. But a fortunate death saved Honoratus
 “ from the justice of the senate. Martianus there-
 “ fore was committed without Priscus. Upon
 “ some debates which arose upon this affair, it
 “ was referred to the first assembly of the senate.
 “ This assembly was most august. The prince Trajan.
 “ presided in it, being then consul. It was about
 “ the beginning of January, when the senate is
 “ generally most numerous. Besides the impor-
 “ tance of the cause, the noise it had made, and
 “ the natural curiosity of all men to be eye-wit-
 “ nesses of great and extraordinary events, had
 “ drawn together from all parts a great mul-
 “ titude of auditors. You may imagine the trou-
 “ ble and apprehension we were under, who were
 “ to speak in such an assembly, and in the pre-
 “ sence of the emperor. I have spoke more than
 “ once in the senate, and may venture to say,
 “ that I never was so favourably heard any
 “ where: notwithstanding which every thing
 “ daunted me, as if entirely new to me.
 “ The difficulty of the cause embarrassed me
 “ almost as much as the rest. I considered in the
 “ person of Priscus, a man, who, a little before,
 “ was

“ was of consular dignity, was honoured with an
 “ important priesthood, of both which titles he
 “ was then divested. I was sincerely concerned
 “ at being to accuse an unfortunate person already
 “ condemned. If the enormity of his crime ur-
 “ ged strongly against him; pity, which usually
 “ succeeds a first condemnation, pleaded no less
 “ in his favour. At length I took courage, be-
 “ gan my discourse, and received as many ap-
 “ plauses as I had fears before. I spoke almost
 “ five hours: for * I was granted an hour and a
 “ half more than was at first allowed me. All
 “ that seemed difficult and averse when I had it
 “ to say, became easy and favourable when I said
 “ it. The emperor’s goodness and care, I dare
 “ not call it anxiety, for me, went so far, that he
 “ ordered me several times to be admonished by
 “ a freedman, who stood behind me, to spare
 “ myself, and not to forget the weakness of my
 “ constitution,

“ Claudius Marcellinus defended Martianus.
 “ The senate adjourned to the next day; for there
 “ was not sufficient time for going through a new
 “ pleading before night.

“ On the morrow Salvius Liberalis spoke for
 “ Priscus. || He is a subtle orator, disposes his
 “ subject with method, has abundance of vehe-
 “ mence, and is truly eloquent. All these talents
 “ he displayed this day. † Tacitus replied with
 “ abundance of eloquence, in which the great
 “ and the sublime of his character distinguished
 “ itself not a little. Catus Fronto rejoined very
 “ finely for Priscus; and as he spoke last, and
 “ there was but little time remaining, he endea-

* Nam decem clepsydris,
 quas spatiosissimas acceperam,
 sunt additæ quatuor.

|| Vir subtilis, dispositus,
 acer, disertus.

† Respondit Cornelius Ta-
 citus eloquentissimè, & quod
 eximium orationi ejus inest,
 σεμνῶς.

“ voured more to move the judges, than to justify the accused. Night came on, and the affair was referred to the next day.

“ The question then was to examine the proofs, and proceed to vote. It was certainly something very noble, and highly worthy of ancient Rome, to see the senate assembled, and employed for three days successively, without separating till night. Cornutus Tertullus consul elect, a person of extraordinary merit, and most zealous for justice, was the first that gave his opinion. It was to condemn Priscus to pay the seven hundred thousand sesterces he had received into the public treasury, and to banish him from Rome and Italy. He went farther against Martianus, and was for having him banished even from Africa; and concluded with proposing to the senate, to declare that * Tacitus and I had faithfully and worthily answered their expectation in acquitting ourselves of our commission. The consuls, and all the persons of consular dignity, who spake afterwards, were of the same opinion. Some division ensued: but at last every body came over to Cornutus.”

Pliny makes an end of his letter with a stroke of gaiety. “ You are now, says he to his friend, fully informed of what passes here. Let me know in your turn what you do in the country. Send me an exact account of your trees, your vines, your corn, and your cattle; and assure yourself, that if I have not a very long letter from you, you shall have but very short ones from me for the future. Adieu.”

It appears that Pliny was in a manner the refuge Ep 4, & 9. and asylum of the oppressed provinces. The de- l. 3.

* Ego & Tacitus. *The Latin is more simple and less ceremonious.* I and Tacitus. *Perhaps the senate's vote named Pliny first.*

puties from † Boetica implored the senate to appoint Pliny to be their advocate in the suit they had commenced against Cæcilius Classicus, late governor of that province. Whatever other employments he might have, he could not refuse that people his assistance, for whom he had before pleaded upon a like occasion. * For, says Pliny, you cancel your first good offices, if you do not repeat them. Oblige an hundred times, and refuse once, men (for such is their nature) forget every thing but the refusal. Accordingly he undertook their cause.

Either a voluntary or natural death saved Classicus from the consequences of this prosecution. Boetica however did not omit to demand that it should go on; for so the laws required; and accused at the same time the ministers and accomplices of his crimes, demanding justice against them. The first thing that Pliny believed it necessary to establish, was, that Classicus was guilty, which it was not difficult to prove. He had left amongst his papers an exact memorandum in his own hand writing of the gains he had made by his several extortions. Probus and Hispanus, two of his accomplices, gave more trouble. Before he entered upon the proof of their crimes, Pliny judged it necessary to shew, that the execution of a governor's orders in what was manifestly unjust, was criminal; without which it had been losing time to prove them Classicus's instruments. For they did not deny the facts laid to their charge, but excused themselves by pleading that they were reduced to them by obedience to their superior, which according to them sufficed for their vindication.

† *Andalusia is a great part of what the ancients called Bætica.*

* *Est ita natura comparatum, ut antiquiora beneficia subver-*

tas, nisi illa posterioribus cumules. Nam, quamlibet sæpe obligati, si quid unum neges, hoc solum meminere, quod negatum est.

They pretended, that such obedience could not be made criminal in them, as they were natives of the province, and consequently accustomed to tremble at the least command of the governor. Their advocate, who was a person of great ability, confessed afterwards, that he never was so much perplexed and disconcerted, as when he saw the only arms in which he had placed his whole confidence, wrested out of his hands.

The event was as follows. The senate decreed, that the estate of Clasticus, before he took possession of his government, should be separated from what he had afterwards acquired. The first was adjudged to his daughter, and the rest to the people of Boetica. Hispanus and Probus were banished for five years; so black did that which at first seemed scarce criminal, appear after Pliny had spoke. The other accomplices were prosecuted with the same effect.

What constancy and courage had Pliny, and how much must he have abhorred injustice and oppression? What an happiness was it for the remote provinces, as Andalusia was, where the governors, like so many petty tyrants, making their will their law, plundered and oppressed the people with impunity, to have a zealous and intrepid defender, whom neither credit nor menaces were capable of swaying in the least! For these public robbers find protection, and are seldom made examples, which can alone put a stop to such pernicious abuses.

Pliny's zeal was soon rewarded in a conspicuous A. D. 99. manner. He was actually made præfect of the In Panet-treasury, that is to say high-treasurer, with Cornu-^{gyr.} Traj. tus Tertullus, which office he held two years, when they were both nominated consuls to be substituted to the usual ones for the following year. Trajan spoke in the senate to have this honour conferred upon them, presided in the assembly of the people at their nomination, and proclaimed them

them consuls himself. He gave them great praises, and represented them as men, who equalled the ancient consuls of Rome in their love of justice, and the public good. “ It was then I perfectly knew, says * Pliny speaking of his colleague; “ what kind of man, and of what value, he was. “ I heard him as a master, and respected him as “ a father, less on account of his advanced age, “ than his profound wisdom.”

A.D. 100. Pliny, when consul, pronounced in his own and his colleague's name, an oration to thank Trajan for having conferred that dignity upon them, and to make his panegyric according to the order he had received from the senate, and in the name of the whole empire. I shall have occasion in the sequel to speak of this panegyric.

A.D. 103. About the end of the year 103, Pliny was sent to govern Pontus and Bithynia in quality of pro-consul. His sole employment there was to establish good order in his government, to execute justice, to redress grievances, and soften subjection. He had no thoughts of attracting respect by the pomp of equipage, difficulty of access, haughtiness in hearing, and insolence in giving answers.

A noble simplicity, an always frank and easy reception, an affability that sweetened necessary refusals, with a moderation that never departed from itself, conciliated the affection of every body.

Trajan, otherwise the most humane and just of princes, had set on foot a violent persecution against the Christians. Pliny, from the necessity of his office, and in consequence of his blindness, had his share in it. But the natural sweetness of his disposition made him averse, at least in some measure, to inflicting punishments upon persons guilty

* Tunc ego qui vir & quantus esset, altissimè inspexi: quem sequer ut magistrum, ut parentem vereretur: quod non tam ætatis maturitate, quam vita, merebatur.

of no crime. In consequence finding himself perplexed in the execution of the emperor's orders, he wrote him a letter upon that head, and received an answer, which, of all the monuments of paganism, are perhaps those that do most honour to the Christian religion. I shall insert both at length in this place.

Pliny's letter to the emperor Trajan.

“ It is a part of my religion, Cæsar, to Ep. 97.
 “ explain all my scruples to you. For who can l. 10.
 “ either determine or instruct me better? I never
 “ was present at the proceedings against any Christian : so that I neither know upon what the
 “ information against them turns, nor how far
 “ their punishment should extend. I am much
 “ at a loss about the difference of age. Must
 “ young and old without distinction suffer the
 “ same inflictions? Are not those who repent to
 “ be pardoned; or is it to no purpose to renounce
 “ Christianity, after having once embraced it? Is
 “ it the name only that I am to punish in them,
 “ or are there any crimes annexed to that name?
 “ However this be, I have made this my rule
 “ in respect to the Christians brought before me.
 “ Those who have owned themselves such, I have
 “ interrogated a second and third time, and
 “ threatened them with punishment. When they
 “ persisted, I ordered it accordingly. For of
 “ whatever nature their confession was, I believed it indispensibly necessary to punish in them
 “ their disobedience and invincible obstinacy.
 “ There were others possessed with the same
 “ phrenzy, whom I have reserved in order to send
 “ them to Rome, because they are Roman citizens. Accusations of this kind becoming afterwards more frequent even from being set on
 “ foot, as is usual, various kinds of them offer.
 “ A memorial has been put into my hands,
 “ wherein

“ wherein several persons are accused of being
 “ Christians, who deny that they either are or
 “ ever were so. They have in my presence, and
 “ in the terms I prescribed, invoked the gods,
 “ and offered incense and wine to your image,
 “ which I caused expressly to be brought out with
 “ the statues of our divinities. They have even
 “ uttered violent imprecations against Christ.
 “ And this, I am told, is what none, who are
 “ truly Christians, can ever be forced to do. I
 “ believed it therefore necessary to acquit them.
 “ Others, who have been brought before me by
 “ an informer, have at first confessed themselves
 “ Christians, and immediately after denied it;
 “ declaring that they had indeed been so, but that
 “ they had ceased to be so, some above three,
 “ and others a greater number of years, and some
 “ for more than twenty. All these people have
 “ adored your image, and the statues of the gods;
 “ and all of them loaded Christ with curses.
 “ * They have affirmed to me, that their whole
 “ error and fault consisted in these points: That
 “ on a day fixed, they assembled before sun-rise,
 “ and sung alternately hymns to Christ as to a
 “ god; that they engaged themselves by oath,
 “ not to any crime, but not to rob or commit
 “ adultery; to be faithful to their promise, and
 “ not to secrete or deny deposites: That after this
 “ it was their custom to separate, and then to re-
 “ assemble, in order to eat promiscuously some
 “ simple and innocent food: That they had cea-
 “ sed to do so since my edict, by which, accord-

* Affirmabant autem hanc
 fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ,
 vel erroris, quod essent soliti
 stato die ante lucem convenire;
 carmenque Christo, quasi deo,
 dicere secum invicem; seque
 sacramento non in scelus ali-
 quod obstringere, sed ne furta,

ne latrocinia, ne adulteria com-
 mitterent, ne fidem fallerent,
 ne depositum appellari abnega-
 rent: quibus peractis, morem
 sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque
 coeundi ad capiendum cibum,
 promiscuum tamen & innoxium.

“ ing

“ ing to your orders, I had prohibited all assem-
 “ blies whatsoever. These depositions convinced
 “ me more than ever, that it was necessary to ex-
 “ tort the truth by force of torments out of two
 “ virgin slaves, whom they said were priestesses
 “ of their worship : but I discovered only a bad
 “ kind of superstition, carried to excess ; and for
 “ that reason have suspended every thing till I
 “ have your farther orders. The affair seems
 “ worthy of your reflection, from the multitude
 “ of those involved in the danger. For great
 “ numbers of all ages, sexes, and conditions, are
 “ liable to this accusation. This contagious evil
 “ has not only infected the cities, but has reached
 “ the villages and country. I believe however
 “ that it may be remedied, and that a stop may
 “ be put to it : and it is certain that the temples,
 “ which were almost entirely abandoned, are now
 “ frequented ; and that the long neglected sacri-
 “ fices are renewed. Victims are sold every
 “ where, which before had few purchasers. From
 “ whence may be judged what numbers may
 “ be reclaimed, if pardon be granted to repen-
 “ tance.”

The emperor Trajan's answer to Pliny.

“ You have, most dear Pliny, taken the me- Ep. 98.
 “ thod you ought in proceeding against the Chri-
 “ stians brought before you : for it is impossible
 “ to establish a certain and general form in affairs
 “ of such a nature. It is not necessary to make
 “ strict enquiries after those people : but if they
 “ are accused and convicted, they must be pu-
 “ nished. However, if the accused denies that he
 “ is a Christian, and proves he is not by his behavi-
 “ our, I mean by invoking the gods, it is proper
 “ to pardon him on his repentance, whatever
 “ causes of suspicion may before have been laid

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“ to his charge, * FOR THE REST, ANONYMOUS
 “ INFORMATIONS OUGHT NOT TO BE RECEIVED
 “ IN ANY KIND OF CRIME: FOR THAT WERE OF
 “ PERNICIOUS EXAMPLE, AND DOES NOT SUIT
 “ THE TIMES IN WHICH WE LIVE.”

I leave it to the reader to make the reflections, these two letters naturally suggest, upon the magnificent praise they include of the purity of manners of the primitive Christians, the amazing progress Christianity had already made in so few years, even to occasion the temples to be abandoned; the incredible number of the faithful of all ages, sexes, and conditions; the authentic testimony rendered by a Pagan of the belief of the divinity of Jesus Christ generally established amongst those Faithful; the remarkable contradiction of Trajan's opinion, for if the Christians were criminal, it was just to make strict enquiry after them, and if not, it was unjust to punish them though accused; and lastly upon the maxim taken from the law of nature, with which the emperor concludes his letter, in declaring, that he should deem it a dishonour to his age, if, in any crime whatsoever, (the expression is general) regard were had to informations without the names of their authors.

On Pliny's return to Rome, he resumed business and his employments. His first wife being dead without children, he married a second named Calphurnia. As she was very young, and had abundance of wit, he found no difficulty in inspiring her with a taste for polite learning. It became her sole passion; but she reconciled it so well with her affection for her husband, that it could not be said whether she loved Pliny for polite learning, or polite learning for Pliny. When he was to plead

Ep. 19. l. 4.

* Sine auctore verò propositi bere debent. Nam & pessimi libelli nullo crimine locum habere debent, nec nostri seculi est.

some important cause, she always had several persons waiting to bring her the first news of his success, and the emotion that expectation occasioned ceased only with their return. If he read any oration or other piece to an assembly of his friends, she never failed to contrive herself some place, from whence behind a curtain she might overhear the applauses given him. Her husband's works were continually in her hand, and with no other art but love for her master, she composed airs upon the lyre to his verses.

His letters to her shew how far he carried his tenderness for a wife so worthy of his affection and esteem. "You tell me that my absence gives you
Ep. 7. 1. 6.
"abundance of pain, and that your sole consolation is reading my works, and often laying
"them by you in my place. I am transported
"with joy that you desire me so ardently, and at
"your manner of consoling yourself. As for me,
"I read your letters over and over, and am perpetually opening them again as if they were
"new ones. But they only serve to aggravate the
"regret I feel in wanting you. For what felicity must one not find in the conversation of
"her, whose letters have such charms! Fail not
"however to write often to me, though it gives
"me a kind of pleasure that torments me." In Ep. 4. 1. 6.
another letter he says: "I conjure you most earnestly, to prevent my anxiety by one and even
"two letters every day. I shall at least feel hope
"whilst I read them, though I fall into my first
"alarms afterwards." In a third, "To tell you
Ep. 7. 1. 7.
"to what a degree your absence affects me would
"seem incredible. I pass the greatest part of my
"nights in thinking of you. In the day and at
"the hours I used to see you, my feet in a manner carry me of themselves to your apartment;
"and not finding you there, I return with as
T 2 "much

“ much sadness and confusion, as if I had been
 “ refused entrance.”

Ep. 10. l. 8. After having received some hurt at her first time of being with child, she recovered, and lived a considerable time, but left him no issue.

Neither the time nor circumstances of Pliny's death are known.

I have not pretended hitherto to give an exact and continued account of Pliny's actions, but only an idea of his character by some events more remarkable than others, and consequently the most proper for making it known. I shall with the same view add some other facts, without confining myself to the order of time, and shall reduce them to four or five heads.

I. *Pliny's application to study.*

It had been strange if Pliny, brought up in the fight and under the care of his uncle Pliny the Naturalist, had wanted a taste for the sciences, and indeed had not devoted himself entirely to them. We may believe that in his first studies he followed the plan he laid down for a young man who had consulted him upon that subject. As this letter may be useful to youth, I shall insert part of it here.

Ep. 9. l. 7. “ You ask me in what manner I would advise
 “ you to study. One of the best methods, according to the opinion of many, is to translate
 “ Greek into Latin, or Latin into Greek. By
 “ that you will acquire justness and beauty of diction, happiness and grace of figures, and facility in expressing your sense ; besides which in
 “ that imitation of the most excellent authors, you
 “ will insensibly contract an habit of thinking and
 “ expressing yourself like them. A thousand
 “ things which escape a man that reads, do not
 “ escape a translator. Translation enlarges the
 “ mind, and forms the taste.

“ You may also, after having read something
 “ only

“ only for the sake of making it your subject,
 “ treat it yourself, with the resolution not to be
 “ excelled by your original. You may then com-
 “ pare your work with your author’s, and care-
 “ fully examine what he has done better than you,
 “ and you better than him. What a joy will it
 “ be to you, to perceive yours sometimes the best ;
 “ and how much will it redouble your emulation,
 “ should you find yourself always the inferior !

“ I know your present study is the eloquence of
 “ the bar : but for the attainment of that, I would
 “ not advise you to confine yourself entirely to that
 “ contentious style, that breathes nothing but war
 “ and debate. As fields delight in change of seeds,
 “ our minds also require to be exercised in diffe-
 “ rent studies. I would therefore have you some-
 “ times make a fine piece of history your employ-
 “ ment, sometimes the composition of a letter,
 “ and sometimes verses——It is in this manner
 “ the greatest orators, and even the greatest men,
 “ have exercised or unbended themselves ; or ra-
 “ ther have exercised and unbended both together.
 “ It is amazing how much these little works awa-
 “ ken and exhilarate the genius.

“ I have not said what it is necessary to read,
 “ though the having mentioned what it is proper
 “ to write, sufficiently speaks that. Remember
 “ only to make a good choice of the best authors
 “ in every kind ; for it has been well said *, that
 “ it is necessary to read much, but not many
 “ things.”

We have seen that Pliny at the age of fourteen
 had wrote a Greek tragedy, and afterwards exer-
 cised himself in the several species of poetry. He
 was much delighted with reading Livy. † He Ep. 21. l. 6.

* Aiunt multum legendum
 esse, non multa.

† Sum ex iis qui mirer anti-
 quos ; non tamen, ut quidam,

temporum nostrorum ingenia
 despicio. Neque enim quasi
 lassâ & effœta natura, ut nihil
 jam laudabile pariat.

admired the antients, without being of the number of those, who despise the moderns. I cannot believe, says he, that nature is become so barren and exhausted, as to produce nothing valuable in our days.

Ep. 6. 1.9. He tells a friend in what manner he employs himself during the public diversions. “ I have
 “ passed all these last days in composing and
 “ writing with the greatest tranquillity imaginable.
 “ You may ask how that is possible in the midst
 “ of Rome ? It was the time of the shews in the
 “ Circus which give me no manner of pleasure. I
 “ see nothing new or varied in them, and conse-
 “ quently nothing worth seeing more than once.
 “ This redoubles my astonishment, that so many
 “ thousand—and even grave persons—should
 “ have a puerile passion for seeing horses run, and
 “ men driving chariots, so often. * When I con-
 “ sider this insatiable desire to see these trifling com-
 “ mon sights over and over again, I feel a secret
 “ satisfaction in taking no pleasure in such things,
 “ and am glad to employ a leisure in polite stu-
 “ dies, which others throw away upon such frivo-
 “ lous amusement.

Ep. 19. 1.8. We see study was his whole joy and consolation.
 “ Literature, says he, is my diversion and comfort ;
 “ and I know nothing so agreeable as it is to me,
 “ and nothing so mortifying as not to be softened by
 “ it. In my grief for my wife’s indisposition, the
 “ sickness of my family, and even the deaths of
 “ some of them, † I find no remedy but study.
 “ It indeed makes me more sensible of adversity,
 “ but renders me also more capable of bearing it.”

* Quos ego (quosdam graves homines) cum recorder in re inani, frigida, assidua, tam insatiabiliter desiderare, capio aliquam voluptatem, quod hac voluptate non capiar. Ac per hos dies libentissime otium me-

um in literis colloco, quos alii otiosissimis occupationibus perdunt.

† Ad unicum doloris levamentum studia confugio, quæ præstant ut adversa magis intelligam, sed patientius feram.

II. *Pliny's esteem and attachment for persons of virtue and learning.*

All the great men of his age, all who were most distinguished by eminent virtues, were Pliny's friends: Virginius Rufus, who refused the empire; Corellius, who was considered as a perfect model of wisdom and probity; Helvidius, the admiration of his times; Rusticus Arulenus and Senecio, whom Domitian put to death; and Cornutus Tertullus, who was several times his colleague.

He thought it also highly for his honour to have contracted a particular amity with the persons, who made the greatest figure then in polite learning, Tacitus, Suetonius, Martial, and Silius Italicus.

" I have read your book, says he to Tacitus, Ep 20.1.7.
 " and have observed with all the exactness in my
 " power what I believe it necessary to alter and
 " retrench: * for I love no less to speak truth,
 " than you to hear it; besides which no people are
 " more docile to reproof, than those who deserve
 " most praise. I expect that you will send back
 " my book in your turn with your corrections,
 " † Agreeable, charming exchange! How much
 " am I delighted to think, that if posterity
 " sets any value upon us, it will publish to
 " the end of time with what freedom, simplicity,
 " and friendship we lived together. It will be
 " something rare and remarkable, that two men
 " almost of the same age, of the same rank, and
 " of some reputation in the republic of letters,

* Nam & ego verum dicere
 assuevi, & tu libentur audire.
 Neque enim ulli patientius re-
 prehendentur, quam qui maxi-
 me laudari merentur.

† O jucundas, ô pulcras
 vices! Quam me delectat,
 quod, si qua posteris cura no-
 strâ, usquequaque narrabitur,

qua concordia, fide, simplicitate
 vixerimus! Erit rarum &
 insigne, duos homines ætate,
 dignitate propemodum æqua-
 les, nonnullius in literis no-
 minis, (cogor enim de te quo-
 que parcius dicere, quia de me
 simul dico) alterum alterius
 studia fovisse.

“ (for I am reduced to speak modestly of you,
 “ when I join you with myself) should have as-
 “ sisted each other’s studies so faithfully. As for
 “ me, from my most early youth, the reputation
 “ and glory you had acquired, made me desirous
 “ of imitating you, and of treading, and of ap-
 “ pearing to tread, in your steps, not near you,
 “ but nearer than another. It was not because
 “ Rome had not at that time abundance of geni-
 “ uses of the first rank : but amongst them all the
 “ similitude of our inclinations pointed out you,
 “ as the most proper, as the most worthy of being
 “ imitated. This is what highly augments my joy,
 “ as often as I hear it said, that, when conversation
 “ turns upon polite learning, we are named toge-
 “ ther.”

We may conceive how studious Pliny was to oblige the historian Suetonius, from what he writes of him to a friend. This letter, though short, is one of the most elegant of his come down to us.

Ep. 24. l. 1. “ Suetonius *, who lodges with me, is for buy-
 “ ing a little spot of land, which one of your
 “ friends is disposed to sell. Favour me so far, I

* Tranquillus, contubernalis meus, vult emere agellum, quem venditare amicus tuus dicitur. Rogo cures, quanti æquum est, emat: ita enim delectabit emissæ. Nam mala emptio semper ingrata est, eo maximè quod exprobare stultitiam domino videtur. In hoc autem agello (si modo arriserit pretium) Tranquilli mei stomachum multa sollicitant: vicinitas urbis, opportunitas viæ, mediocritas villæ, modus ruris, qui avocet magis quam distringat. Scholasticis porro studiosis, ut hic est, sufficit abunde tantum soli, ut relevare caput, reficere oculos, reptare per li-

mitem, unamque semitam terere, omnesque viticulas suas nosse, & numerare arbusculas possint. Hæc tibi exposui, quo magis scires, quantum ille esset mihi, quantum ego tibi debiturus, si prædiolum istud, quod commendatur his dotibus, tam salubriter emerit, ut pœnitentiæ locum non relinquat. Vale. *Mr. Rollin adds, that the French tongue cannot render the delicacy and elegance of the diminutives and frequentatives scattered in abundance throughout this little letter. Agellum Venditare. Reptare per limitem. Viticulas. Arbusculas. Prædiolum.*

“ beg

“ beg you, as not to let him give more for it
 “ than it is worth ; which will make him like his
 “ purchase. A bad bargain is always disagreeable ;
 “ but most so, in seeming to reproach us with
 “ imprudence. This bit of land, if not too dear,
 “ has many temptations for my friend : its small
 “ distance from Rome, the goodness of the ways,
 “ the mediocrity of its buildings, with its appur-
 “ tenances more fit to amuse than employ. For
 “ these men of learning, devoted like him to stu-
 “ dy, want only as much land as is necessary for
 “ unbending their minds and delighting their eyes
 “ in good air. A single alley to walk in, a back
 “ way into the fields, and as many vines and
 “ plants as they can be acquainted with without
 “ burthening their memories, abundantly suffice
 “ them. I tell you all this, that you may know
 “ the better how much he will be obliged to me,
 “ and I to you, if he can buy this little place,
 “ with these recommendations, without any reason
 “ to repent it.”

Martial, so well known from his epigrams, was Ep. 21. l. 3.
 also one of Pliny's friends, and the death of that
 poet gave him great concern. “ I am informed,
 “ said he, that Martial is dead, and am very sorry
 “ for it. * He was an ingenious, subtle, sharp
 “ man, and had abundance both of salt and gall,
 “ with no less candor, in his writings. When he
 “ left Rome, I gave him something to help him
 “ on his journey ; which little assistance I owed
 “ him, as well on account of our friendship, as
 “ the verses he had made for me. † It was the

* Erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, & qui plurimum in scribendo & falsis haberet & fellis, nec candoris minus.

† Fuit moris antiqui, eos qui vel singulorum laudes vel urbium scripserant, aut hono-

ribus aut pecunia ornare : nostris vero temporibus, ut alia speciosa & egregia, ita hoc inprimis exolevit. Nam postquam desimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.

“ antient

“ antient custom to confer rewards either of honour or profit, upon such as had wrote in praise of cities or certain individuals. But that custom, with many others no less noble and decent, is one of the last in modern practice. Ever since we have ceased to do what deserved praise, we have despised it as a thing of no value.” Pliny repeats the passage of those verses, in which the poet, addressing himself to his muse, bids her go to Pliny at his house upon the Esquiline hill, and approach him with respect.

Sed ne tempore non tuo disertam
Pulses ebria januam, videto.
Totos dat tetricæ dies Minervæ,
Dum centum studet auribus virorum
Hoc quod secula posterique possint
Arpinis quoque comparare chartis.
Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas :
Hæc hora est tua, cùm furit Lyæus,
Cùm regnat rosa, cum madent capilli.
Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.

Mr. Sacy has translated these verses into French thus.

*Prends garde, petite ivrognesse,
De n'aller pas, à contretens,
Troubler les emplois importans
Ou du soir au matin l'occupe sa sagesse.
Respecte les momens qu'il donne à des discours
Qui font le charme de nos jours,
Et que tout l'avenir, admirant notre Plin
Osera comparer aux Oracles d'Arpine.
Prends l'heure que les doux propos,
Enfans des verres & des pots,
Ouvrent tout l'esprit à la joie ;
Qu'il se détend, qu'il se déploie,
Qu'on traite les sages de fots ;*

*Et qu'alors, en humeur de rire,
Les plus Catons te puissent lire.*

The same verses are in English.

*Wanton muse, awhile forbear,
Of improper times beware ;
Knock not at his learned gate ;
All day long affairs of weight —
A thousand bearers all day long
To his charming accents throng :
Strains so sweetly wise, so rare,
Future ages shall compare
To those of * Arpinas' son,
Tho' from Greece the palm he won.
Stir not there till ev'ning hours,
Till Bacchus reigns, and softer pow'rs ;
When crown'd with roses, sweet with oils,
Mirth laughs at care, and learned toils :
Then take thy time devoid of fear,
When Cato's self thy lays would hear.*

“ Do you not think, says Pliny in concluding his
“ letter, that the man who wrote of me in these
“ terms, well deserved some tokens of my affec-
“ tion at his departure, and of my grief at his
“ death.”

He also very much lamented that of Silius Itali- Ep. 7. 1. 3.
cus, on whose poetry he passes a judgment entirely
just. † *He wrote verses, says he, with more art
than genius.* An incurable abscess having given
him a disgust for life, he ended his days by a vo-
luntary abstinence from food.

III. Pliny's liberality.

Pliny, in comparison with some of the rich
persons of Rome, had but a very moderate fortune,

* Cicero.
ingenio.

† Scribebat carmina majore cura quam

but a soul truly great, and the most noble sentiments. Of this his almost innumerable liberalities are an undoubted proof. I shall relate only a part of them.

Ep. 30.1.9. He had laid down principles to himself upon this head which well deserve attention : “ In my † opinion, says he, a man truly liberal should give “ to his country, his relations by blood or marriage, and his friends, but his friends in necessity.” This is the order in giving that equity prescribes, and which he followed exactly.

We have already seen that he made a very generous present to Quintilian his master, towards the portion of his daughter on her marriage, and assisted Martial when he retired from Rome. Of those two friends, the latter was unnecessary, and the other was not rich.

He had given his nurse a small estate in land, which at the time he gave it her, was worth an hundred thousand sesterces, that is to say, about six hundred pounds. What great lords of modern date act in this manner ? Pliny however calls this a little present : *Munusculum*. And after bestowing this piece of land, we find him make his nurse’s income from it his care. He writes to the person who had the care of it, to recommend the improvement of it to him. “ For, adds he, she “ who received this little farm, has not more interest “ in its produce, than I who gave it her.”

Ep. 4. 1.2. Seeing Calvina, whom he had partly portioned out of his own fortune, upon the point of renouncing the inheritance of her father Calvinus’s estate, through fear that it was not sufficient to discharge his debts to Pliny ; he wrote to her not to affront her father’s memory in that manner, and to determine her, sent her a general acquittance.

† Volo eum, qui sit verè liberalis, tribuere patriæ, pro- pinquis, affinibus, amicis, sed amicis pauperibus.

Upon

Upon another occasion he gave Romanus three hundred thousand sesterces (almost nineteen hundred pounds) to purchase him the estate necessary to qualify him for being admitted into the order of Roman knights.

Corellia, the sister of Corellius Rufus, for whom Pliny had always an infinite respect during his life, bought lands of him at the price of seven hundred thousand sesterces. Upon better information she found those lands worth nine hundred thousand, and pressed him earnestly to take the overplus, but could not prevail upon him to do so. Fine contest this between justice and generosity, in which the buyer's delicacy and the seller's noble disinterestedness are equally admirable! Where shall we find such behaviour now?

Some merchants had purchased his vintage at a very reasonable price, from the hopes of gaining considerably by it. They were disappointed; and he returned money to them all. The reason he gives for it is still more admirable than the thing itself. "I * think it no less noble to do justice in one's own house, than from the tribunal; in small than great affairs; and in one's own, as well as in those of other people."

What he did for his country still exceeds every thing I have said hitherto. The inhabitants of Coma, not having any masters amongst them for the education of their children, were obliged to send them to other cities. Pliny, who had the heart both of a son and a father for his country, made the inhabitants sensible of the advantages that would attend the education of their youth at Coma itself. "Where *, says he to their parents, can they

* Mihi egregium in primis videtur, ut foris ita domi, ut in magnis ita in parvis, ut in alienis ita in suis, agitare iustitiam.

† Ubi aut jucundius morarentur, quam in patria; aut pudicius continerentur, quam sub oculis parentum; aut minore

“ they have a more agreeable residence than their
 “ country? where form their manners with more
 “ safety, than in the sight of their fathers and mo-
 “ thers? and where will their expences be less
 “ than at home? Is it not best for your children
 “ to receive their education in the same place
 “ where they had their birth, and to accustom
 “ themselves from their infancy to love to reside
 “ in their native country?” He offered to contri-
 bute one third towards a foundation for the subsist-
 ance of masters, and thought it necessary to leave
 the rest of the expence upon the parents, in order
 to render them the more attentive in choosing good
 teachers from the necessity of the contribution, and
 the interest they would have in seeing their ex-
 pence well bestowed.

Ep. 8. l. 1. He did not confine himself to this donation. For
 as he says elsewhere, † liberality once on foot
 knows not how or where to stop, and has still the
 more charms the more we use it. He founded a
 library there, with annual pensions for a certain
 number of young persons of family, whose for-
 tunes did not afford them the necessary supplies for
 study. He had accompanied the institution of this
 library with a discourse, which he pronounced in
 the presence only of the principal citizens. He
 afterwards deliberated whether he should publish it.
 “ It || is hard, says he, to speak of one’s own
 “ actions without giving reason to judge, that we

nore sumptu, quam domi?—
 Edoceantur hic, qui hic nas-
 cuntur, statimque ab infantia
 natale solum amare, frequen-
 tare consuecant.

† Nescit enim semel incita-
 ta liberalitas stare, cujus pulcri-
 tudinem usus ipse commendat.
Epist. 12. l. 5.

|| Meminimus, quanto ma-
 jore animo honestatis fructus

in conscientia, quam in fama,
 reponatur. Sequi enim gloria,
 non appeti debet: nec, si casu
 aliquo non sequatur, idcirco
 quod gloriam non meruit, mi-
 nus pulcrum est. Ii vero qui
 benefacta sua verbis adornant,
 non ideo prædicare quia fece-
 rint, sed ut prædicarent secisse
 credantur.

“ do not speak of them merely because we did
 “ them, but did them for the sake of speaking of
 “ them. As for me, I do not forget that a great
 “ soul is far more affected with the secret reports of
 “ conscience, than the most advantageous ones of
 “ common fame. Our actions ought not to fol-
 “ low glory, but glory them: And if through
 “ the caprice of fortune they do not find it, we
 “ ought not to believe, that what has deserved it,
 “ loses any thing of its value.”

It is not easy to comprehend how a private per-
 son was capable of so many liberalities. This he Ep. 4. 1. 2.

explains himself in a letter to a lady, to whom he
 had made a considerable remittance. “ Do not
 “ fear, says he, that such a present will distress me :
 “ pray make yourself easy upon that head. My for-
 “ tune indeed is not large. My rank requires ex-
 “ pence, and my income, from the nature of my
 “ estate, is no less casual than moderate. But what
 “ I want on that side, I find in frugality ; the most
 “ assured source of my liberality.” *Quod cessat ex*
reditu, frugalitate suppletur : ex qua, velut è fonte,
liberalitas nostra decurrit. What a lesson and at the
 same time what a reproach is this to those young
 noblemen, who with immense estates, do no good
 to any body, and often die much in debt. They
 are lavish to prodigality upon luxury and pleasures,
 but close and cruel to insensibility to their friends
 and domestics. “ Ever * remember, says Pliny, Ep. 6. 1. 2.
 “ speaking to a young man of distinction, that
 “ nothing is more to be avoided, than that mon-
 “ strous mixture of avarice and prodigality, which
 “ prevails so much in our times ; and that, if one
 “ of those vices suffice to blast a person’s reputation,
 “ both of them must disgrace him infinitely
 “ more.”

* Memento nihil magis esse
 vitandum, quam istam luxuriæ
 & fordium novam societatem :

quæ cum sint turpissima dif-
 creta ac separata, turpius jun-
 guntur.

IV. *Pliny's innocent pleasures.*

Pliny's disposition was not rigid and austere. On the contrary he was extremely facetious, and took pleasure in conversing gayly with his friends.

Ep. 3.1.5. *Aliquando rideo, jocos, ludo : utque omnia innoxie remissionis genera complectar, homo sum.*

He was very glad to see his friends at his table, and often gave and accepted entertainments, but such of which temperance, conversation and reading made the principal part. “ I shall come * to supper with you, says he to a friend, upon condition however that we have nothing but what is plain and frugal, except only conversation in abundance after the manner of Socrates ; and not much neither even of that.

Ep. 15.1.1. He reproaches another with not having kept his promise with him. “ On my word you shall hear of it. You put me to the expence of providing a supper for you, and don't come to it. Justice is to be had at Rome. You shall pay me to the last farthing, which is more perhaps than you imagine. I had got each of us a lettuce, three snails, two eggs, a cake, with muscadell wine and ice. Besides which we had Spanish Olives, Gourds, Shalots, and a thousand other meats to the full as delicious. But you were better pleased, at I know not who's, with oysters, fowls belly stuffed, and scarce fish. I shall certainly punish you for it.”

Ep. 6.1.1. He describes one of his parties of hunting with all the wit and pleasantry imaginable. “ I know you will laugh, and consent that you do laugh as much as you please. That very Pliny, whom you know, has caught three wild boars ; and very large ones too. What himself, say you ?

* Veniam ad cœnam : fed jam nunc paciscor, sit expedita, sit parca, Socraticis tantum fermonibus abundet : in his quoque teneat modum.

“ Himself.

“ himself. Do not believe however that they cost
 “ my indolence much. I sat down near the nets :
 “ I had neither spear nor dart by me, but I had
 “ my book and a pen : I meditated, wrote, and *
 “ in case of my going home with my hands emp-
 “ ty, had provided myself with the consolation
 “ of having my leaves full.”

Hence we see study was his darling passion. That taste followed him universally, at table, in hunting, and wherever he went. He employed in it all the intervals of time, which were not passed in the service of the public : for † he had laid it down to himself as a law, always to give business the preference to pleasure, and the solid to the agreeable.

This made him desire leisure and retirement so ardently. “ Shall ‖ I never then”, cried he, when oppressed by a multiplicity of affairs, “ be
 “ able to break the shackles with which I am
 “ hampered, since I cannot unbind them ? No, I
 “ dare not flatter myself with that. Every day
 “ some new care augments my old ones. One
 “ business is no sooner at an end than another rises
 “ up. The chains of my occupation are perpetually multiplying and growing more heavy.”

In writing to a friend, who employed his leisure like a wise man in a delightful retirement, he could not avoid envying him. “ It is thus, says he,
 “ that a person no less distinguished in the functions of the magistrate, than the command of
 “ armies, and who has devoted himself to the
 “ service of the commonwealth as long as honour

* Ut si manus vacuas, plenas tamen ceras reportarem.

† Hunc ordinem secutus sum, ut necessitates voluptatibus, seria jucundis anteferebam.
Ep. 21. l. 8.

‖ Nunquam-ne hos arctissimi

mos laqueos, si solvere negatur, abrumpam ? Nunquam, puto. Nam veteribus negotiis nova accrescunt, nec tamen priora peraguntur : tot nexibus, tot quasi catenis majus in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.

“ required it, ought to pass his age. * We owe
 “ our first and second stage of life to our country,
 “ but the last to ourselves. This the laws seem to
 “ advise us, in granting us our quietus at sixty.
 “ When shall I be at liberty to enjoy rest ? At
 “ what age shall I be permitted to imitate so glo-
 “ rious a retirement : and when will it be possible
 “ for mine not to be called sloth, but honourable
 “ leisure ?”

He never thought he lived or breathed, but when he could steal from the town to one of his country houses, for he had several. His agreeable description of them sufficiently shews the pleasure he took in them. He speaks of his orchards, his kitchen and other gardens, his buildings, and especially of the places that were in a manner the work of his own hands, with that joy and satisfaction which every man feels who builds or plants in the country. He calls these places, his delights, his loves, his

Ep. 17. l. 2. real loves : *amores mei, re vera amores : ipse posui.*

Ep. 6. l. 5. And in another place : *præterea indulgi amori meo ; amo enim quæ maxima ex parte ipse inchoavi, aut inchoata percolui.* “ Am I in the wrong, says he
 “ to one of his friends, for being so fond of this
 “ retreat ; for making it my joy, and for staying
 “ so long at it ?” And in another letter : “ Here
 “ are neither the offensive, nor the impertinent.
 “ All here is calm, all peace : and as the good-
 “ ness of the climate makes the sky more serene,
 “ and the air more pure, my body is in better
 “ health, and my mind more free and vigorous.
 “ The one I exercise in hunting, and the other
 “ in study.”

† Nam & prima vitæ tem-
 pora & media patriæ, extrema
 nobis impertiri debemus, ut

ipsæ leges monent, quæ majorem annis sexaginta otio reddunt.

Pliny's ardour for reputation and glory.

It is not to be doubted but that glory was the soul of Pliny's virtues. His application, leisure, diversions, studies, all tended that way. * It was a maxim with him, that the only ambition which suited an honest man, was either to do things worthy of being wrote, or to write things worthy of being read. He did not deny, that the love of glory was his darling passion. "Every † body judges differently of human happiness. For my part, I think no man so happy as he who enjoys a great and solid reputation; and who, assured of the voices of posterity, tastes beforehand all the glory it intends him. || Nothing affects me so much, says he, as the desire of surviving long in the remembrance of mankind; a disposition truly worthy of a man, and especially of one, who having nothing to reproach himself with, does not fear the judgment of posterity." The celebrated Thrasea used to say, that an orator ought to charge himself with three kinds of causes: those of his friends, those who want protection, and those of which the consequences may be of an exemplary nature—"† I shall add to these three kinds (says Pliny again) perhaps as a man not without ambition, great and famous causes. For it is just to plead sometimes for reputation and glory, that is to say, to plead one's own cause."

* Equidem beatos puto, quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda. *Ep.* 16. *l.* 6.

† Alius alium, ego beatissimum existimo, qui bonæ mansuræque famæ præsumptione perfruitur, certusque posteritatis cum futura gloria vivit.

|| Me nihil æquè ac diuturnitatis amor & cupido soli-

citat: res hominè dignissima, præsertim qui nullius sibi conscius culpæ, posteritatis memoriam non reformidet.

‡ Ad hæc ego genera causarum, ambitiosè fortasse, addam tamen claras & illustres. Æquum enim est agere nonnunquam gloriæ & famæ, id est suam causam.

Ep. 32.1.7. He passionately desired that Tacitus would write his history: but, less vain than Cicero, he did not ask him to embellish it with lies: *mendaciunculis aspergere*. “ My * actions, says he to that historian, will in your hands become more great, remarkable and shining. I do not however desire you to exaggerate them: for I know, that history ought never to depart from truth, and that truth does sufficient honour to good actions.” I do not know whether I had reason for saying, that Pliny was less vain than Cicero, and whether Cicero ought not to be deemed the more modest, because the more sincere. He knew what he wanted, and asked an officious supplement of that. But Pliny does not believe he has occasion either for favour or aid. He is more satisfied with his own merit. It is sufficiently great, solid, and noble, to support itself alone for the view of posterity. It has no occasion for any thing, besides an elevation of style, to convey the simple truth down to future ages without any foreign addition.

Pliny often assembled a number of his select friends, in order to read his compositions either in verse or prose to them. He declares in several letters, that he did this with the view of making use of their advice; which might be: but the desire of being praised and admired had a great share in it, for he was infinitely sensible in that point.

Ep. 10.1.2. “ I † represent to myself already the crowd of hearers,” (he speaks to a friend whom he advises to read his works in the same manner) “ the

* Hæc, utcumque se habent, notiora, clariora, majora tu facies: quanquam non exigo ut excedas actæ rei modum. Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, & honestè factis veritas sufficit.

† Imaginor qui concursus,

quæ admiratio te, qui clamor, quod etiam silentium maneat: quo ego, cùm dico vel recito, non minus quam clamore delector, sit modò silentium acre, & intentum, & cupidum ulteriora audiendi.

“ transports

“ transports of admiration, the applauses, and
 “ even that silence, which, whilst I speak in pub-
 “ lic, or read my compositions, is scarce less
 “ charming than the loudest applauses, when it
 “ proceeds solely from attention, and an impatient
 “ desire of hearing what remains.”

He was highly offended at the mute and su-^{Ep. 17. 14.}
 percilious behaviour of some hearers, when it con-
 cerned his friends. “ An excellent work was read
 “ in an assembly, to which I was invited. Two
 “ or three persons, who conceived themselves bet-
 “ ter judges than all the rest of us, heard it as if
 “ they had been deaf and dumb. They never
 “ opened their lips, made the least motion, or
 “ so much as rose up, unless it was when
 “ they were weary of sitting. * What contra-
 “ diction, or rather what folly was this, to pass
 “ an whole day in mortifying a man, to whose
 “ house they came only to express friendship and
 “ esteem for him !”

He did noble actions ; but was well pleased that ^{Ep. 1. 1. 5.}
 they should be known, and himself praised for
 them. “ † I do not deny, says he, that I am not
 “ so wise, as to be indifferent to that kind of re-
 “ ward, which virtue finds in the testimony and
 “ approbation of many.”

Pliny is censured for speaking often of himself,
 but however he cannot be reproached with speak-
 ing only of himself. No man ever took more
 pleasure in extolling the merit of others ; which he
 carried so far as to occasion his being accused of
 praising to excess, a fault against which he was ve-
 ry far either from defending himself, or being
 willing to correct. “ You tell me, that I am re-^{Ep. 28. 1. 7.}

* Quæ sinisteritas, ac potius
 amentia, in hoc totum diem
 impendere, ut offendas, ut ini-
 micum relinquo, ad quem tan-
 quam amicissimus veneris.

† Neque enim sum tam sa-
 piens, ut nihil mea intersit, an
 iis quæ honestè fecisse me credo
 testificatio quædam & quasi
 præmium accedat.

“ proached by some people with praising my
 “ friends to excess upon all occasions. I confess
 “ my crime, and glory in it. For can there be
 “ any thing more generous, than to err through
 “ such an indulgence of one’s self? And pray who
 “ are these people, who believe they know
 “ my friends better than I do? Granted they do,
 “ wherefore do they envy me so grateful an error?
 “ For suppose my friends are not what I say, I
 “ am always happy in believing they are. Let
 “ me therefore advise these censurers to apply
 “ their malignant delicacy to those who believe
 “ there is wit and judgment in criticising their
 “ friends: as for me, they shall never persuade
 “ me, that I love mine too well.”

Have I not expatiated too far upon Pliny’s private character, and will not the extracts I have made from his letters, appear to the reader too long and abundant? I am afraid they will, and confess my weakness. These characters of integrity, probity, generosity, love of public good, which to the misfortune of our age are become so rare, transport me out of myself, ravish my admiration, and make me incapable of abridging my descriptions of them. And indeed, I repeat it again, is there a more gentle, desirable, social, and amiable character, in every respect, than that of which I have been endeavouring so long to give some idea? How agreeable is the commerce of life with such friends; and how happy is it for the public, when such beneficent persons as Pliny, void of capricious humour, passion, and prejudice, fill the first offices of a state, and make it their study to soften and remove the distresses of those with whom they have to do?

I was in the wrong for saying, that Pliny was void of passion. Exempt as he was from such, as in the judgment of the world dishonour men, he had one, less gross and more delicate indeed, but not

not less warm and vicious in the sight of the Supreme Judge, whatsoever endeavours the general corruption of the human heart may make to ennoble it, by giving it almost the name of virtue. I mean that excessive love of glory, which was the soul of all his actions and undertakings. Pliny and all the rest of the illustrious writers of the Pagan world, were solely engrossed by the desire and care of living in the remembrance of posterity, and of transmitting their names to future ages by writings, which they were in hopes would endure as long as the world, and obtain them a kind of immortality, with which they were blind enough to content themselves. Could any thing be more uncertain, precarious, and frivolous, than this hope? Could not time, which has abolished the greatest part of the works of these vain men, have also abolished the little that remains of them? To what are they indebted for the fragments of them that have escaped the general shipwreck? The little of theirs come down to us, does it prevent all that belongs to them, even their very names, from having perished totally throughout all Africa, Asia, and great part of Europe? Had it not been for the studies kept up by the Christian church, would not Barbarism have annihilated their works and names throughout the universe? How vain, how trifling then is the felicity, upon which they relied, and to which they wholly devoted themselves! Have not those, who were the admiration of their own times, fallen into the abyss of death and oblivion, as well as the most ignorant and stupid? We, whom religion has better instructed, should be very blind and void of reason, if, destined by the grace of our Saviour to a blessed immortality, we suffered ourselves to be dazzled by imaginary greatness, and the phantom of an eternity in idea.

The extracts I have made from his letters, are more than sufficient to make the reader acquainted with his genius and manners: it remains for me to give an idea of his style by some extracts from his panegyric upon Trajan, which is an extremely elaborate piece of eloquence, and has always been considered as his master-piece.

Panegyric upon Trajan.

I have already observed, that Pliny, after his being appointed consul by Trajan, in conjunction with Cornutus Tertullus his intimate friend, received the senate's orders to make that prince's panegyric in the name of the whole Empire. He addresses his discourse always to the Emperor, as if present. If he were really so, for it is doubted, it must have cost his modesty a great deal: but whatever repugnance he might have to hearing himself praised to his face, which is always very disagreeable, he did not think it proper to oppose the Decree of so venerable an assembly. It is easy to judge that Pliny, on that occasion, exerted all his faculties; to which no doubt the warmth of his gratitude added new force. Some extracts, which I am going to make from that piece, will at the same time shew the eloquence of its author, and the admirable qualities of the prince it praises.

General praise of Trajan.

Sæpe ego mecum, patres conscripti, tacitus agitavi, qualem quantumque esse oporteret cujus ditione nutuque maria, terræ, pax, bella regerentur: cùm interea fingenti formantique mihi principem, quem æquata diis immortalibus potestas deceret, nunquam voto saltem concipere succurrit similem huic quem videmus. Enituit aliquis in bello, sed obsolevit in pace. Alium toga, sed non & arma honestârunt. Reverentiam ille terrore, alius amorem humanitate captavit. Ille quæsitam domi gloriam, in publico; hic in publico partam,

partam, domi perdidit. Postremò, adhuc nemo extitit, cujus virtutes nullo vitiorum confinio læderentur. At principi nostro quanta concordia quantusque concensus omnium laudum omnisque gloriæ contigit; ut nihil severitati ejus hilaritate, nihil gravitati simplicitate, nihil majestati humanitate detrabatur! Jam firmitas, jam proceritas corporis, jam honor capitis, & dignitas oris, ad hoc ætatis inflexa maturitas, nec sine quodam munere deum festinatis senectutis insignibus ad augendam majestatem ornata cæsaries, nonne longè latèque principem ostendant?

“ I have often endeavoured, fathers, to form to
 “ myself an idea of the great qualities which a
 “ person worthy of ruling the universe absolutely
 “ by sea and land, in peace and war, ought to
 “ have; and I confess, that when I have imagi-
 “ ned, according to my best discretion, a prince
 “ capable of sustaining with honour a power com-
 “ parable to that of the gods, my utmost wishes
 “ have never rose so high, as even to conceive
 “ one like him we now see. Some have acqui-
 “ red glory in war, but lost it in peace. * The
 “ gown has given others fame, but the sword dis-
 “ grace. Some have made themselves respected
 “ by terror, and others beloved by humanity.
 “ Some have known how to conciliate esteem in
 “ their own houses, but not to preserve it in pub-
 “ lic; and some to merit reputation in public,
 “ which they have ill sustained at home. In a
 “ word, we have seen none hitherto, whose vir-
 “ tues have not suffered some alloy from the
 “ neighbouring vices. But in our prince, what
 “ an assemblage of all excellent qualities, what a
 “ concurrence of every kind of glory, do we not
 “ behold; his severity losing nothing by his
 “ cheerfulness, his gravity by the simplicity of

* At Rome the princes exercised the functions both of magistrates and generals.

“ his manners, nor the majesty of his power and
 “ person by the humanity of his temper and acti-
 “ ons ! The strength and gracefulness of his bo-
 “ dy, the elegance of his features, the dignity of
 “ his aspect, the healthy vigour of his maturer
 “ years, his hoary hair, which the gods seem to
 “ have made white before the time only to render
 “ him the more venerable ; do they not all com-
 “ bine to point out, to speak, the sovereign of the
 “ world.”

Trajan's conduct in the army.

*Quid cum solatium fessis militibus, ægris opem fer-
 res ? Non tibi moris tua inire tentoria, nisi commili-
 tonum ante lustrasses ; nec requiem corpori, nisi post
 omnes, dare. Hac mihi admiratione dignus impera-
 tor non videretur, si inter Fabricios, & Scipiones, &
 Camillos talis esset. Tunc enim illum imitationis ar-
 dor, semperque melior aliquis accenderet. Postquam
 vero studium armorum à manibus ad oculos, ad vo-
 luptatem à labore translatus est, quam magnum est
 unum ex omnibus patrio more, patria virtute lætari,
 & sine æmulo ac sine exemplo secum certare, secum
 contendere : ac, sicut imperat solus, solum ita esse qui
 debeat imperare !*

“ In your care of the tired and wounded foldi-
 “ ers, in which none ever were more attentive,
 “ was it your custom to retire to your own tent,
 “ till after having visited all the rest, or to take
 “ repose, till you had first provided for that of
 “ the whole army ? To find such a general
 “ amongst the Fabricii, the Scipios, the Camilli,
 “ would seem no great matter of admiration. In
 “ those days there was always some great example,
 “ some superior, to quicken such ardor, and to
 “ kindle in the soul a noble emulation. But now,
 “ when we love arms only in the shews of the
 “ Circus, and have transferred them from the
 “ hand to the eye, from fatigue and toil to pas-
 “ time

“ time and amusement, how glorious is it to be
 “ the only one in retaining the ancient manners
 “ and virtues of his country, and to have no
 “ other model to propose, no other rival to con-
 “ tend with, but himself; and, as he reigns
 “ alone, to be the only person worthy of reign-
 “ ing!”

*Veniet tempus quo posteri visere, visendum tradere
 minoribus suis gestient, quis sudores tuos hausserit cam-
 pus, quæ refectiões tuas arbores, quæ somnum saxa
 prætexerint, quod denique tectum magnus hospes imple-
 veris, ut tunc ipsi tibi ingentium ducum sacra vestigia
 iisdem in locis monstrabantur.*

“ The time will come, when posterity will ea-
 “ gerly visit themselves, and shew to their children,
 “ the plains where you sustained such glorious la-
 “ bours, the trees under which you refreshed your-
 “ self with food, the rocks where you slept, and
 “ the houses that were honoured with so great a
 “ guest: in a word, they will trace your sacred
 “ footsteps every where, as you have done those
 “ in the same places of the great captains you de-
 “ light so much to contemplate.

*Itaque perinde summis atque infimis carus, sic im-
 peratorem commilitonemque miscueras, ut studium om-
 nium laboremque & tanquam particeps sociusque eleva-
 res. Felices illos, quorum fides & industria, non per
 nuncios & interpretes, sed ab ipso te, nec auribus tuis
 sed oculis probantur. Consecuti sunt, ut absens quoque
 de absentibus nemini magis, quam tibi, crederes.*

“ Dear as you were alike to great and small,
 “ you mingled the soldier and general in such a
 “ manner, that at the same time your office ex-
 “ acted their whole obedience and labours as their
 “ leader, you softened their toils by sharing in
 “ them as their companion. How happy are they
 “ to serve you, who are not informed of their
 “ zeal and capacity from the reports of others,
 “ but are yourself the witness of them in your
 “ own

“ own person. Hence to their good fortune,
 “ even when absent, you rely on none more than
 “ yourself in what relates to them.”

*Trajan's return and entrance into Rome, after his
 being declared emperor.*

Ac primum qui dies ille, quo expectatus desideratusque urbem tuam ingressus es!—Non ætas quemquam, non valetudo, non sexus retardavit quominus oculos insolito spectaculo expleret. Te parvuli noscere, ostentare juvenes, mirari senes, ægri quoque neglecto medentium imperio ad conspectum tui, tanquam ad salutem sanitatemque, prorrepere. Inde alii se satis vixisse te viso, te recepto: alii nunc magis vivendum prædicabant. Fæminas etiam tunc fecunditatis suæ maxima voluptas subiit, cum cernerent cui principi cives, cui imperatori milites peperissent. Videres referta tecta ac laborantia, ac ne eum quidem vacantem locum, qui non nisi suspensum & instabile vestigium caperet: Oppletas undique vias, angustumque tramitem relictum tibi: alacrem hinc atque inde populum: ubique par gaudium, paremque clamorem.

“ What shall I say of that day, when your
 “ city, after having so long desired and expected
 “ you, beheld you enter it?—Neither age, sex, nor
 “ health could keep anybody from so unusual a
 “ sight. The children were eager to know you,
 “ the youth to point you out, the old to admire
 “ you, and even the sick, without regard to the
 “ orders of their physicians, crept out, as if for
 “ the recovery of their health, to feed their eyes
 “ on you. Some said, that they had lived long
 “ enough, as they had seen you; and others that
 “ they only now began to live. The women rejoiced that they had children, when they saw
 “ for what prince they had brought forth citizens,
 “ for what general foldiers. The roofs were all
 “ crowded and ready to break down under the
 “ numbers upon them; the very places where there

“ was scarce room to stand and not upright, were
 “ full. The throng was so vast in the streets, that
 “ it scarce left you way to pass through it: whilst
 “ the joy and acclamations of the people filled
 “ all places, and resounded universally to the
 “ heavens.”

The example of the prince how powerful.

Non censuram adhuc, non præfecturam morum recepisti; quia tibi beneficiis potius quam remediis ingenia nostra experiri placet. Et alioqui nescio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonos esse patitur, quam qui cogit. Flexibiles quamcumque in partem ducimur à principe, atque ut ita dicam, sequaces sumus—— Vita principis censura est, eaque perpetua: ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur; nec tam imperio nobis opus est, quam exemplo. Quippe infidelis recti magister est metus. Melius homines exemplis docentur, quæ inprimis hoc in se boni habent, quod approbant, quæ præcipiunt, fieri posse.

“ You have not yet thought fit to take the censorship upon you, nor to charge yourself with
 “ inspecting into the manners of the people; because you chuse rather to try our disposition by
 “ kindness and indulgence, than bitter remedies.
 “ And indeed, I do not know whether the prince,
 “ who honours the virtues of his people, does not
 “ contribute more to them, than he who exacts
 “ them with rigour.—The life of a prince is
 “ a continual censorship: it is to that we adapt
 “ ourselves, to that we turn as to our model;
 “ and want less his commands than his example.
 “ For fear is but a dubious, a treacherous teacher
 “ of duty. Examples are of much greater efficacy with men: for they not only direct to virtue,
 “ but prove that it is not impossible to practise what they admonish.”

Virtue, not statues, do honour to princes.

Ibit in secula fuisse principem, cui florenti & incolumi nunquam nisi modici honores, sæpius nulli decernerentur.——Ac mibi intuenti in sapientiam tuam, minus mirum videtur, quod mortales istos caducosque titulos aut deprecetur, aut temperes. Scis enim ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria; ubi sint honores, in quos nihil flammis, nihil senectuti, nihil successoribus liceat. Arcus enim, & statuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & obscurat oblivio, negligit carpitque posteritas: contrà, contemptor ambitionis & infinitæ potestatis domitor ac frænator animus ipsa vetustate florescit, nec ab ullis magis laudatur, quam quibus minimè necesse est. Præterea, ut quisquis factus est princeps, extemplò fama ejus, incertum bona an mala, cæterum æterna est. Non ergo perpetua principi fama, quæ invitum manet, sed bona concupiscenda est. Ea porro non imaginibus & statuis, sed virtute ac meritis propagatur.

“ It will be told in all ages, that there was a
 “ prince to whom in the height of glory and
 “ good fortune only moderate honours, and more
 “ frequently none were decreed.——When I con-
 “ sider your profound wisdom, my wonder ceases,
 “ on seeing you either decline or moderate those
 “ fleeting vulgar titles. You know wherein the
 “ true, the immortal glory of a prince consists;
 “ you know wherein those honours have their be-
 “ ing, which fear neither flames, time, nor the
 “ envy of successors. For neither triumphal ar-
 “ ches, statues, altars, nor even temples escape
 “ oblivion, and the neglect or injuries of poste-
 “ rity. But he, whose exalted soul disdains ambi-
 “ tion, and sets due bounds to universal power,
 “ shall flourish to the latest period of the world,
 “ revered and praised by none so much, as those
 “ who are most at liberty to dispense with that ho-
 “ mage. The fame of a prince, from the mo-
 “ ment

“ment he becomes so, whether good or bad, is
 “necessarily eternal. He ought not therefore to
 “desire an immortal name, which he must have
 “whether he will or no, but a good one; and
 “that, not statues and images, but merit and vir-
 “tue perpetuate.”

*The prince's happiness inseparable from that of
 the people.*

*Fuit tempus, ac nimium diu fuit, quo alia adversa,
 alia secunda principi & nobis. Nunc communia tibi
 nobiscum tam læta, quam tristia; nec magis sine te nos
 esse felices, quam tu sine nobis potes. An, si posses, in
 sine votorum adjecisses, UT ITA PRECIBUS TUIS DII
 ANNUERENT, SI JUDICIUM NOSTRUM MERERI
 PERSEVERASSES?*

“There was a time, and but of too long dura-
 “tion, when our misfortunes and prosperity and
 “the prince's were the reverse of each other. But
 “But now our good and evil are one and the same
 “with yours; and we can no more be happy
 “without you, than you without us. Had it
 “been otherwise, would you have added at the
 “end of your public vows, *That you desired the
 “gods would hear your prayers no longer, than you
 “persisted to deserve our love?*”

It is remarkable that a condition was inserted by
 the order of Trajan himself in the vows made for
 him by the public: SI BENE REMPUBLICAM ET EX
 UTILITATE OMNIUM REXERIS: that is to say, *if
 you govern the commonwealth with justice, and make
 the good of all mankind the rule of your power.* “O
 “vows, cries Pliny, worthy of being made, wor-
 “thy of being eternally heard! The common-
 “wealth has, by your guidance, entered into a
 “contract with the gods, that they should be
 “watchful for your preservation, as long as you
 “are so for that of your country: and if you act
 “any thing to the contrary, that they should with-
 “draw

“ draw their regard and protection from you.”
Digna vota, quæ semper suscipiantur, semperque solvantur. Egit cum diis, ipso te auctore, Respublica, ut te sospitem incolumemque præstarent, si tu cæteros præstitisses : si contra, illi quoque à custodia tui corporis oculos dimoverent.

Admirable union between the wife and sister of Trajan.

Nihil est tam primum ad similitudines quàm æmulation, in fæminis præsertim. Ea porro maximè nascitur ex conjunctione, alitur æqualitate, exardescit invidia, cuius finis est odium. Quo quidem admirabilius existimandum est, quòd mulieribus duabus in una domo parique fortuna nullum certamen, nulla contentio est. Suspiciunt invicem, invicem cedunt : cùmque te utraque effusissimè diligat, nihil sua putant interesse utram tu magis ames. Idem utrique propositum, idem tenor vitæ, nihilque ex quo sentias duas esse.

“ Nothing is more apt to produce enmity than
 “ emulation, especially amongst women. It generally is most frequent where it should least be
 “ found, I mean in families : equality nourishes
 “ it, envy inflames it, the end of which is implacable hatred. And this makes our wonder the
 “ greater, when we behold two ladies, equal in
 “ fortune, in the same palace, between whom there
 “ never happens the least difference. They seem
 “ to contend in paying respect and giving place to
 “ each other ; and though they both love you with
 “ the utmost tenderness, they do not think which
 “ of them you love best of any consequence.
 “ Their views, the tenor of their lives, are so much
 “ the same, that there is nothing in either from
 “ whence one can distinguish them to be two
 “ persons.”

Trajan was sensible to the joys of friendship.

Jam etiam & in privatorum animis exoleverat priscum mortalium bonum amicitia, cujus in locum migraverant

verant assentationes, blanditiæ, & pejor odio amoris simulatio. Etenim in principum domo nomen tantum amicitia, inane scilicet irrisumque, manebat. Nam quæ poterat esse inter eos amicitia, quorum sibi alii domini, alii servi videbantur? Tu hanc pulsam & errantem reduxisti. Habes amicos, quia amicus ipse es. Neque enim, ut alia subjectis, ita amor imperatur: neque est ullus affectus tam erectus, & liber, & dominationis impatiens, nec qui magis vices exigat.

“ Friendship, that inestimable good, in which
 “ of old the happiness of mortals consisted, was
 “ banished even from the commerce of private
 “ life; and flattery, compliment, and outward
 “ profession, the phantom of friendship more
 “ dangerous even than enmity, had assumed its
 “ place. If the name of friendship was still
 “ known in the court of the princes, it was only
 “ as the object of contempt and ridicule. For
 “ what friendship could subsist between those, who
 “ considered each other in the light of masters
 “ and slaves? But you have recalled the exile from
 “ wandering abroad: You have friends, because
 “ you are yourself a friend. For the power of a
 “ prince, though he commands without bounds in
 “ other things, does not extend to love. Of all
 “ the affections of the soul, that is the most free,
 “ unbiassed, and averse to constraint; none of
 “ them exacting returns with greater rigour.”

Absolute power of the freedmen under the bad emperors.

Plerique principes, cum essent civium domini, libertorum erant servi. Horum consiliis, horum nutu regerantur: per hos audiebant, per hos loquebantur: per hos Præturæ etiam, & Sacerdotia, & Consulatus, imò & ab his, petebantur. Tu libertis tuis summum quidem honorem, sed tanquam libertis, habes; abundeque his sufficere credis, si probi & frugi existimentur. Scis enim, præcipuum esse indicium non magis principis, magnos libertos.

“ Most of our emperors whilst lords of the ci-
 “ tizens, were slaves to their freedmen. They go-
 “ verned solely by their counsel and dictates; and
 “ had neither will, ears, nor tongues but theirs.
 “ By them, or rather from them, all offices, præ-
 “ tor, pontifex, consul, were to be asked. As for
 “ you, you have indeed a very high regard for
 “ your freedmen, but you regard them as freed-
 “ men, and believe them sufficiently honoured in
 “ the circumstances of worthy men of moderate
 “ fortune. For you know, that there is not a more
 “ infallible proof of the prince’s meanness, than
 “ the greatness of his freedmen.”

Nothing exalts the prince like descending to the man.

Cui nihil ad augendum fastigium superest, hic uno modo crescere potest, si se ipse submittat, securus magnitudinis suæ. Neque enim ab ullo periculo fortuna principum longius abest, quam ab humilitate.

“ To him who has attained the highest fortune,
 “ there remains but one means for exalting him-
 “ self, and that is, secure in his greatness, to neglect
 “ and descend from it properly. Of all the dan-
 “ gers princes can incur, the least they have to
 “ fear, is making themselves cheap by humility.”

In what the greatness of princes consists.

Ut felicitatis est quantum velis posse, sic magnitudinis velle quantum possis.

“ As it is the highest felicity to be capable of
 “ doing all the good you will, so it is the most
 “ exalted greatness to desire to do all the good you
 “ can.”

Of Pliny’s style.

PLINY’S panegyric has always passed for his
 master-piece, and even in his own time, when many
 of his pieces of eloquence that had acquired him
 great

great reputation at the bar, were extant. In praising as consul and by order of the senate so accomplished a prince as Trajan, to whose favour he was besides highly indebted, it is not to be wondered that he made an extraordinary effort of genius, as well to express his private gratitude, as the universal joy of the empire. His wit shines out every where in this discourse; but his heart is still more evident in it; and all know that true eloquence flows from the heart.

*Pectus est
quod di-
fertofacit.
Quintil.*

Ep. 18. l. 3.

When he spoke this panegyric, it was not so long as it is at present. It was not till after the first essay, that like an able painter, he added new strokes of art to the portrait of his hero; but all taken from the life, and which far from altering the likeness and truth, only rendered them stronger and more sensible. * He gives us himself the reason that induced him to act in this manner. “ My first view, says he, was to make the emperor (if possible) more in love with his own virtues, by the charms of just and natural praises; and next to point out to his successors, not as a master, but under the cover of example, the most certain paths to solid glory. For though it be laudable to form princes by precepts, it is difficult, not to say proud and assuming. But to transmit the praises of a most excellent prince to posterity, is setting up a light to guide suc-

* *Officium consulatûs in-
junxit mihi ut Reip. nomine
Principi gratias agerem. Quod
ego in Senatu cûm ad rationem
& loci & temporis ex more fe-
cisssem, bono civi convenientis-
simum credidi, eadem illa spa-
tiosius & uberius volumine am-
plecti. Primûm, ut Imperatori
nostro virtutes suæ veris laudi-
bus commendarentur: deinde
ut futuri Principes, non quasi*

*à magistro, sed tamen sub ex-
emplo præmonerentur, qua
potissimum via possent ad ean-
dem gloriam niti. Nam præ-
cipere qualis esse debeat Prin-
ceps, pulcrum quidem, sed o-
nerosum ac prope superbum est.
Laudare verò optimum Prin-
cipem, ac per hoc posteris, velut
è specula, lumen quod sequan-
tur ostendere, idem utilitatis
habet, arrogantiae nihil.*

“ceeding emperors, and to the full as useful, with
 “no arrogance.” It was not easy for him to have
 proposed a more perfect model. Trajan may be
 said to have united all the qualities of a great
 prince in one only, which was in being perfectly
 convinced, that he was not emperor for himself,
 but for his people. But that is not the present
 question.

The style of his discourse is elegant, florid, and
 luminous, as that of a panegyric ought to be, in
 which it is allowable to display with pomp what-
 ever is most shining in eloquence. The thoughts
 in it are fine, solid, very numerous, and often seem
 entirely new. The diction, though generally sim-
 ple enough, has nothing low, or that does not
 suit the subject, and support its dignity. The de-
 scriptions are lively, natural, circumstantial, and
 full of happy images, which set the object before
 the eyes, and render it sensible. The whole piece
 abounds with maxims and sentiments truly worthy
 of the prince it praises.

As fine and eloquent as this discourse is, it can-
 not however in my opinion be judged of the sublime
 kind. We do not see in it, as in Cicero's orations,
 I mean even of the demonstrative kind, those
 warm and emphatical expressions, noble and sub-
 lime thoughts, bold and affecting turns and fallies,
 and figures full of vivacity and fire, which sur-
 prise, astonish, and transport the soul out of itself.
 His eloquence does not resemble those great rivers,
 that roll their waves with noise and majesty, but
 rather a clear and agreeable stream which flows
 gently under the shade of the trees that adorn its
 banks. Pliny leaves his reader perfectly calm,
 and in his natural situation of mind. He pleases,
 but by parts and passages. A kind of monotony
 prevails throughout his whole panegyric, which
 makes it not easy to bear the reading of it to the
 end; whereas Cicero's longest oration seems the
 finest,

finest, and gives the most pleasure. To this I must add, that Pliny's style favours a little of the taste for antitheses, broken thoughts, and studied turns of phrase, which prevailed in his time. He did not abandon himself to them, but was obliged to give into the mode. The same taste is obvious in his letters, but with less offence, because they are all detached pieces, in which such a style does not displease: I believe them however far from being comparable to those of Cicero. But all things rightly considered, Pliny's letters and panegyric deserve the esteem and approbation all ages have given them; to which I shall add, that his translator (into French) ought to share them with him.

Antient Panegyrics.

There is a collection of Latin orations extant, intitled, *Panegyrici veteres*, which contains panegyrics upon several of the Roman emperors. That of Pliny is at the head of them, with eleven of the same kind after it. This collection, besides including abundance of facts not to be found elsewhere, may be of great use to such as have occasion to compose panegyrics. The Antients of a better age supply us with no models of this kind of discourses, except Cicero's oration for the Manilian law, and some parts of his other harangues, which are finished master-pieces of the demonstrative kind. The same beauty and delicacy are not to be expected in the panegyrics of which I am speaking. Remoteness from the Augustan age had occasioned a great decline of eloquence, which no longer retained that antient purity of language, beauty of expression, sobriety of ornaments, and simple and natural air, that rose when necessary, into an admirable loftiness and sublimity of style. But there is abundance of wit in these discourses,

with very fine thoughts, happy turns, lively descriptions, and extremely solid praises.

To give the reader some idea of them, I shall content myself with transcribing two passages here in Latin only. They are extracted from the panegyric spoken by Nazarius in honour of Constantine the Great, upon the birth-day of the two Cæsars his sons. St. Jerom mentions this Nazarius as a celebrated orator, and says that he had a daughter no less esteemed than himself for eloquence.

First passage.

Nazarius speaks here of the two Cæsars. *Nobilissimorum Cæsarum laudes exequi velle, studium quidem dulce, sed non & cura mediocris est; quorum in annis pubescentibus non erupturæ virtutis tumens germen, non flos præcursor indolis bonæ latior quam uberior apparet; sed jam facta grandifera, & contra rationem ætatis maximorumque fructuum matura perceptio. Quorum alter jam obterendis hostibus gravis terrorem paternum, quo semper barbaria omnis intremuit, derivare ad nomen suum cæpit: alter jam Consulatum, jam venerationem sui, jam patrem sentiens, si quid intactum aut parens aut frater reservet, declarat mox victorem futurum, qui animo jam vincit ætatem. Rapitur quippe ad similitudinem suorum excellens quæque natura, nec sensim ac lentè indicium promit boni, cum involucra infantiae vividum rumpit ingenium.*

Second passage.

Nazarius praises a virtue in Constantine very rarely found in princes, but highly estimable: that is, continence. He adds also several other praises to it.

Jam illa vix audeo de tanto Principe commemorare, quod nullam matronarum, cui forma emendatior fuerit, boni sui piguit; cum sub abstinentissimo Imperatore species luculenta, non incitatrix licentiæ esset, sed pudoris

pudoris ornatrici. Quæ sine dubio magna, seu potius divina laudatio, sæpe & in ipsis etiam philosophis, non tam re exhibita, quam disputatione jactata. Sed remittamus hoc principi nostro, qui ita temperantiam ingenerare omnibus cupit, ut eam non ad virtutem suarum decus adscribendam, sed ad naturæ ipsius bonestatem referendam arbitretur. Quid, faciles aditus? quid, aures patientissimas? quid, benigna responsa? quid, vultum ipsum augusti decoris gravitate, hilaritate permixta, venerandum quiddam & amabilem remidentem, quis digne exequi possit?

Can any thing be more solid than this thought? No lady, however beautiful, has had reason to repent her being so; because under so wise a prince as Constantine, beauty is not an attraction to vice, but the ornament of virtue. And could it be better expressed? *Cum sub abstinentissimo Imperatore species luculenta, non incitatrix licentiæ esset, sed pudoris ornatrici.*

BOOK THE TWENTY-SIXTH.

OF THE

Superior SCIENCES.

WE are now come to that part of literature, which is the greatest and most exalted in the order of natural knowledge, I mean Philosophy, and the Mathematics that are a branch of it. The latter have under them a great number of arts and sciences, which either depend upon or relate to them. The study of these requires, for succeeding in it, force and extent of mind, which natural qualities it highly improves. It is easy to conceive that subjects so various, extensive, and important, can only be treated very superficially in this place: neither do I pretend to take them all in, or to give an exact detail of them here. I shall confine myself to the most select, and shall treat of what seems most proper to gratify, or rather to excite, the curiosity of readers little versed in such matters, and to give them some idea of the history of the great men, who have distinguished themselves in these sciences, and of the improvements they have acquired in coming down from the antients to the moderns. For it is not here as in polite learning (the *Belles-Lettres*), in which, to say no more, it is most certain that the latter ages have added nothing to the productions of Athens and Rome.

All

All the sciences of which I am to speak here, may be divided into two parts; Philosophy and the Mathematics. Philosophy will be the subject of this twenty-sixth book; and Mathematics of the following, which will be the last.

O F

P H I L O S O P H Y.

PHILOSOPHY is the study of nature and morality founded on the evidence of reason. This science was at first called σοφία, *Wisdom*; and the professors of it σοφοί, *Sages* or *Wisemen*. Those names seemed too arrogant to Pythagoras, for which reason he substituted more modest ones to them, calling this science *Philosophy*, that is to say love of wisdom; and those who taught or applied themselves to it *Philosophers*, lovers of wisdom.

Almost in all times and in all civilized nations, there have been studious persons of exalted genius, who cultivated this science with great application: the Priests in Egypt, the Magi in Persia, the Chaldeans in Babylon, the Brachmans or Gymnosophists in India, and the Druids amongst the Gauls. Though philosophy owes its origin to several of those I have now mentioned, I shall consider it here only as it appeared in Greece, which gave it new lustre, and became in a manner its school in general. Not only some particulars, dispersed here and there in different regions, from time to time make happy efforts, and by their writings and reputation give a shining, but short and transient light; but Greece, by a singular privilege, brought up and formed in her bosom, during a long and uninterrupted series of ages, a multitude, or, to speak more properly, a people of philosophers, solely

solely employed in enquiring after truth ; many of whom with that view renounced their fortunes, quitted their countries, undertook long and laborious voyages, and passed their whole lives to extreme old age in study.

Can we believe that this tenacious concurrence of learned and studious persons, of so long duration in one and the same country, was the mere effect of chance, and not of a peculiar Providence, which excited so numerous a succession of philosophers to support and perpetuate antient tradition concerning certain essential and capital truths ? How useful were their precepts upon morality, upon the virtues and duties in preventing the growth or rather inundation of depravity and vice ? For instance, what hideous disorder had taken place, if the Epicurean had been the sole prevailing sect ! How much did their disputes conduce to preserve the important doctrines of the difference between matter and mind, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of a supreme Being ! * It is not to be doubted, but God has discovered admirable principles to them upon all these points, preferably to the many other nations, whom barbarity continued in profound ignorance.

Rom. i.
18—21.

It is indeed true, that many of these philosophers advanced strange absurdities. And even all of them, according to St. Paul, *held the truth in unrighteousness—because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful.* None of their schools had ever the courage to maintain or prove the unity of God, though all the great philosophers were fully convinced of that truth. God has been pleased by their example to teach us, what man abandoned to himself, and his mere capacity is. During four hundred years and

* *Because that which may be known of God, is manifest in them, for God hath shewed it unto them.* Rom. i. 19.

upwards, all these great geniusses, so subtile, penetrating, and profound, were incessantly disputing, examining, and dogmatizing, without being able to agree upon, or conclude any thing. They were not destined by God to be the light of the world : *Those did not the Lord chuse, neither gave he the way of knowledge unto them.* Baruch iii. 27.

Philosophy, amongst the Greeks, was divided into two great sects: the one called the *Ionic*, founded by Thales of Ionia; the other the *Italic*, because it was established by Pythagoras in that part of Italy, called *Græcia Magna*. Both the one and the other were divided into many other branches, as we shall soon see.

This in general is the subject of my intended dissertation upon the philosophy of the antients. It would swell to an immense size, were I to treat it in all its extent, which does not suit my plan. I shall content myself therefore, in giving the history and opinions of the most distinguished amongst these philosophers, with relating what seems most important and instructive, and best adapted to gratify the just curiosity of a reader, who considers the actions and principles of these philosophers as an essential part of history, but a part of which it suffices to have a superficial knowledge and general idea. My guides amongst the antients, will be Cicero in his philosophical works, and Diogenes Laertius in his treatise upon the philosophers; and amongst the moderns, the learned Englishman Mr. Stanley, who has composed an excellent work upon this subject.

I shall divide my dissertation in two parts. In the first, I shall relate the history of the philosophers, without dwelling much upon their opinions: in the second, I shall treat the history of philosophy itself, and the principal maxims of the different Sects.

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY of the PHILOSOPHERS.

I Shall run over all the Sects of ancient philosophy, and give a brief history of the philosophers, who distinguished themselves most in each.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY of the PHILOSOPHERS

of the Ionic sect, to their division into various branches.

THE IONIC SECT, to reckon from Thales, who is considered as the founder of it, down to Philo and Antiochus that Cicero heard, subsisted above five hundred years.

THALES.

Diog.
Laert.
A. M.
3364.
Ant. J. C.
640.

THALES was of Miletus, a famous city of Ionia. He came into the world the first year of the XXXVth Olympiad.

To improve himself in the knowledge of the most learned persons of those times, he made several voyages, according to the custom of the ancients; at first into the island of Crete, then into Phoenicia, and afterwards into Egypt, where he consulted the priests of Memphis, who cultivated the superior sciences with extreme application. Under these great masters he learned geometry, astronomy, and philosophy. A pupil of this kind does not long continue so. Thales accordingly proceeded very soon from lessons to discoveries. His masters of Memphis learned from him the method of measuring exactly the immense pyramids which still subsist.

Egypt

Egypt was at that time governed by Amasis, a prince who loved letters, because he was very learned himself. He set all the value it deserved upon the merit of Thales, and gave him public marks of his esteem. But that Greek philosopher, who was fond of liberty and independance, had not the talents for supporting himself in a court. He was a great astronomer, a great geometrician, and an excellent philosopher, but a bad courtier. The too free manner in which he declaimed against tyranny, displeased Amasis, and made him conceive impressions of distrust and fear of him, to his prejudice, which he did not take too much pains to remove, and which were followed soon after with his entire disgrace. Greece was the better for it. Thales quitted the court, and returned to Miletus to diffuse the treasures of Egypt in the bosom of his country.

The great progress he had made in the sciences, occasioned his being ranked in the number of the seven sages of Greece, so famed among the ancients. Of these seven sages, only Thales founded a sect of philosophers, because he applied himself to the contemplation of nature, formed a school and a system of doctrines, and had disciples and successors. The others made themselves remarkable only by a more regular kind of life, and some precepts of morality which they gave occasionally.

I have spoke elsewhere of these sages with some extent, as well as of many circumstances of the life of Thales: of his residence in the court of Cræsus king of Lydia, and his conversation with Solon. I have repeated there the sensible pleasantry of a woman, who saw him fall into a ditch, whilst he was contemplating the stars: *How*, said she to him, *should you know what passes in the heavens, when you do not see what is just at your feet?* and his ingenious manner of evading his mother when she pressed him earnestly to marry, by answering

Ancient History, Vol. II. towards the end.

swering her when he was young, *It is too soon yet,* and after his return from Egypt, *It is too late now.*

The reasons which had prevented Thales from giving himself chains by entering into the married state, made him prefer a life of tranquillity to the most splendid employments. Prompted by a warm desire of knowing nature, he studied it assiduously in the happy leisure, which a strict retirement afforded him, impenetrable to tumult and noise, but open to all whom the love of truth, or occasion for his counsel brought to him. He quitted it very rarely; and that only to take a frugal repast at the house of his friend Thrasylbulus, who by his abilities became king of Miletus at the time of the treaty made by that city with Alyattes king of Lydia.

Cic. de
Nat. Deor.
l. 1. n. 25.
Apul Florid.

Cicero tells us, that Thales was the first of the Greeks who treated the subject of physics.

The glory of having made several fine discoveries in astronomy is ascribed to him: of which one, that relates to the magnitude of the sun's diameter compared with the circle of his annual motion, gave him great pleasure. Accordingly a rich man, to whom he had imparted it, offering that philosopher whatever reward he thought fit for it, Thales asked him no other, but that he would give the honour of the discovery to its author. This is an instance of the character of the learned, who are infinitely more sensible to the honour of a new discovery than to the greatest rewards; and of the truth of what * Tacitus says in speaking of Helvidius Priscus, *That the last thing the wise themselves renounce, is the desire of glory.* He distinguished himself by his ability in foretelling the eclipses of the sun and moon with great exactness, which was considered in those times as a very wonderful matter.

* Erant quibus appetentior sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissimæ videbatur, quando etiam finis exiit. *Tacit. Hist.* l. 4. c. 6.
St.

St. Clemens Alexandrinus repeats two fine sayings of Thales, after Diogenes Laertius. † Being asked one day what God was, he answered, *That which has neither beginning nor end.* Another asking him whether a man could conceal his actions from God: *How can that be,* replied he, *as it is not in his power to conceal even his thoughts from him.* || Valerius Maximus adds, that Thales spoke thus, that the idea of God's presence to the most secret thoughts of the soul might induce men to keep their hearts as pure as their hands. Cicero makes exactly the same remark, though in terms something different. * Thales, says he, who was the wisest of the seven sages, believed it of the last importance for men to be convinced, that the Divinity filled all places, and saw all things, which would render them in consequence wiser and more religious.

He died in the first year of the LVIIIth olympiad, aged fourscore and twelve, during his being present at the celebration of the Olympic games. A. M. 3456.
Ant. J. C. 548.

ANAXIMANDER.

Thales had for his successor Anaximander, his disciple and countryman. History has preserved no particular circumstances of his life. He departed from his master's doctrine in many points. It is said that he forewarned the Lacedæmonians of Cic. de
Divin. l. i.
n. 112.

† Rogatus Thales quid sit Deus? Id, inquit, quod neque habet principium, nec finem. Cùm autem rogasset alius, an Deum lateat homo aliquid agens: Et quomodo, inquit, qui ne cogitans quidem?

|| Mirificè Thales. Nam interrogatus an facta hominum deos fallerent; nec cogitata, inquit. Ut non solum manus, sed etiam mentes puros habere

vellemus; cùm secretis cogitationibus nostris cœleste numen adesse crederemus. *Val. Max. l. 7. c. 2.*

* Thales, qui sapientissimus inter septem fuit, dicebat, Homines existimare oportere deos omnia cernere, deorum omnia esse plena: fore enim omnes castiores. *Cic. de leg. n. 2. l. 36.*

the dreadful earthquake, which destroyed their city. He was succeeded by ANAXIMENES.

ANAXAGORAS.

ANAXAGORAS, one of the most illustrious philosophers of antiquity, was born at Clazomenæ in Ionia, about the LXXth olympiad, and was the disciple of Anaximenes. The nobility of his extraction, his riches, and the generosity which induced him to abandon his patrimony, rendered him very considerable. * Believing the cares of a family and an estate obstacles to his taste for contemplation, he renounced them absolutely, in order to devote his whole time and application to the study of wisdom, and the enquiry after truth, which were his only pleasures. † When he returned into his own country after a long voyage, and saw all his lands lie abandoned and uncultivated, far from regretting the loss, he cried out, *I should have been undone, if all this had not been ruined.* Socrates, in his ironical way, affirmed that the sophists of his time had more wisdom than Anaxagoras; as, instead of renouncing their estates like him, they laboured strenuously to enrich themselves, convinced as they were of the stupidity of old times, and that THE WISE MAN OUGHT TO BE WISE FOR HIMSELF, that is to say, that they ought to employ their whole pains and industry in amassing as much money as possible.

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Plat. in
Hipp. maj.
p. 283.

Anaxagoras, in order to apply himself wholly to study, renounced the cares and honours of go-

* Quid aut Homero ad delectationem animi ac voluptatem, aut cuiquam docto defuisse unquam arbitramur? An, ni ita se res haberet, Anaxagoras, aut hic ipse Democritus, agros & patrimonia sua reliquissent, huic discendi querendique divinæ delectationi toto

se animo dedissent? *Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. n. 114 & 115.*

† Cum è diutina peregrinatione patriam repetisset, possessionesque desertas vidisset: NON ESSEM, inquit, EGO SALVUS, NISI ISTÆ PERISSENT. *Val. Max. l. 8. c. 7.*

vernment. No man however was more capable of succeeding in public affairs. We may judge of his abilities in that way from the wonderful progress made by his pupil Pericles in policy. It was to Plut. in him he was indebted for those grave and majestic Peric. manners, that rendered him so capable of govern- P. 154. ing the commonwealth. It was he that laid the foundation of that sublime and triumphant eloquence, which acquired him so much power; and who taught him to fear the gods without superstition. In a word, he was his counsel, and assisted him with his advice in the most important affairs, as Pericles himself declared. I have elsewhere Ibid. mentioned the little care the latter took of his p. 162. master, and that Anaxagoras wanting the necessities of life, resolved to suffer himself to die of hunger. Pericles upon this news flew to his house, and earnestly entreated him to renounce so melancholy a resolution; *When one would use a lamp, replied the philosopher, one takes care to supply it with oil, that it may not go out.*

Wholly engrossed in the study of the secrets of nature, which was his passion, he had equally abandoned riches and public affairs. Upon being ask- Diog. ed one day, whether he had no manner of regard Laert. for the good of his country; *Yes, yes,* said he, lifting up his hand towards heaven, *I have an extreme regard for the good of my country.* He was asked another time to what end he was born; to which he answered, *To contemplate the sun, moon, and skies.* Is that then the end to which man is destined?

He came to Athens at the age of twenty, about the first year of the LXXVth olympiad, very Diog. near the time of Xerxes's expedition against Laert. Greece. Some authors say, that he brought thi- A. M. ther the school of philosophy, which had flourished 3484. in Ionia from its founder Thales. He continued Ant. J. C. and taught at Athens during thirty years. 480.

The circumstances and event of the prosecution fomented against him at Athens for impiety are differently related. The opinion of those, who believe that Pericles could find no surer method for preserving that philosopher, than to make him quit Athens, seems the most probable. The reason, or rather the pretext, for so heavy an accusation was, that, in teaching upon the nature of the sun, he defined it *a mass of burning matter*; as if he had thereby degraded the sun, and excluded it from the number of the gods. It is not easy to comprehend, how in so learned a city as Athens, a philosopher should not be allowed to explain the properties of the stars by physical reasons, without hazarding his life. But the whole affair was an intrigue and a cabal of the enemies of Pericles, who were for destroying him, and endeavoured to render himself suspected of impiety, from his great intimacy with this philosopher.

Anaxagoras was found guilty through contumacy, and condemned to die. When he received this news, he said, without shewing any emotion: *Nature has long ago passed sentence of death upon my judges, as well as me.* He remained at Lampsacus during the rest of his life. In his last sickness, upon his friends asking him, whether he would have his body carried to Clazomenæ after his death: * No, said he, *that's unnecessary. The way to the infernal † regions is as long from one place as another.* When the principal persons of the city came to receive his last orders, and to know what he desired of them after his death; he replied, nothing, except that the youth might have leave to play every year upon the day of his death. This was done accordingly, and continued a custom to the

* Nihil necesse est, inquit: undique enim ad inferos tantundem viæ est. Cic. 1. Tusc. n. 104.

† Infernal regions, or hell. The antients understood by this word the place to which the souls of all men go after death.

time of Diogenes Laertius. He is said to have lived sixty-two years. Great honours were paid, and even an altar erected, to him.

ARCHELAUS.

ARCHELAUS, of Athens according to some, and of Miletus according to others, was the disciple and successor of Anaxagoras, in whose doctrine he made little alteration. Some say that it was he who transported philosophy from Ionia to Athens. He confined himself principally to the physics, as his predecessors had done : but he introduced the ethics a little more than them. He formed a disciple, who placed them highly in honour, and made them his capital study.

SOCRATES.

This disciple of Archelaus was the famous Socrates, who had been also the pupil of Anaxagoras. He was born in the fourth year of the LXXVIIth A. M. Olympiad, and died the first of the XCVth, after ^{3534.} A. M. having lived seventy years. ^{3604.}

Cicero has observed in more than one place, that Socrates, considering that all the vain speculations upon the things of nature tended to nothing useful, and did not contribute to render man more virtuous, devoted himself solely to the study of morality. * *He was the first, says he, who brought philosophy down from heaven, where she had been employed till then in contemplating the course of the stars ; who established her in cities, introduced her into private houses, and obliged her to direct her enquiries to what concerned the manners, duties, virtues and vices of life.* Socrates is therefore considered

Academ.
Quæst.
l. 1. n. 15.

* Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit à cælo, & in urbibus collocavit, & in domos etiam introduxit, & coe-

git de vita & moribus, rebusque bonis & malis quærere. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. n. 10.

with reason as the founder of moral philosophy amongst the Greeks.

Epist. ad
Æschin.

This was not because he had not perfectly studied the other branches of philosophy: he possessed them all in a supreme degree, having industriously formed himself in them. But as he judged them of little use in the conduct of life, he made little use of them: and, if we may believe Xenophon, he was never heard in his disputes to mention either astronomy, geometry, or the other sublime sciences, that till him had solely employed the philosophers; in which Xenophon seems designedly to contradict and refute Plato, who often puts subjects of that kind into the mouth of Socrates.

Ant. Hist.
Vol. IV.

I shall say nothing here either of the circumstances of the life and death of Socrates, or of his opinions: I have done that elsewhere with sufficient extent. It only remains for me to speak of his disciples, who though all of them made it their honour to acknowledge Socrates their chief, were divided in their opinions.

X E N O P H O N.

Ant. Hist.
Vol. IV.

XENOPHON was certainly one of the most illustrious disciples of Socrates, but did not form a sect; for which reason I separate him from the rest. He was as great a warrior as philosopher. I have related at large the share he had in the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand.

Diog. La-
ert.

His adherence to the party of young Cyrus, who had declared himself openly against the Athenians, drew upon him their hatred, and occasioned his banishment. After his return from the expedition against Artaxerxes, he attached himself to Agefilas king of Sparta, who then commanded in Asia. As Agefilas knew perfectly well how to distinguish merit, he had always a most peculiar regard for Xenophon, and upon being recalled by the Ephori for the defence of his country, carried the

the Athenian general thither along with him. Xenophon after various events retired to Corinth with his two sons, where he passed the rest of his days. In the war between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, when the people of Athens resolved to aid the latter, he sent his two sons to that city. Gryllus signalized himself in a peculiar manner in the battle of Mantinæa, and some pretend that it was he who wounded Epaminondas in the action. He did not survive so glorious an exploit long, but was killed himself. The news of his death was brought to his father, whilst he was offering a sacrifice. Upon hearing it he took the wreath from his head; but upon being informed by the courier, that his son fell fighting gloriously, he immediately put it on again, and continued the sacrifice without shedding a single tear, saying coldly; *I knew the son to whom I gave life was not immortal.* Might not this be called a constancy, or rather hardness of heart, truly Spartan?

Xenophon died the first year of the CVth Olympiad, aged fourscore and ten.

A. M.
364.
Ant. J. C.
360.

I shall speak elsewhere of his works. He was the first that reduced to writing, and published the discourses of Socrates, but exactly as they came from his mouth and without any additions of his own, as Plato made to them.

It is pretended that there was a secret jealousy between those two philosophers, little worthy of the name they bore, and the profession of wisdom upon which they both piqued themselves: and some proofs are given of this jealousy. Plato never mentions Xenophon * in any of his books, which are very numerous, nor Xenophon him, though they both frequently speak of the disciples of Socrates. Besides which, all the world knows that

Aul. Gell.
l. 14. c. 3.

* Vossius has observed that but only in mentioning his name.
Xenophon has spoke once of Plato, Memorab. l. 3. p. 772.

De leg.

l.3. p.697.

the Cyropædia of Xenophon is a book, in which relating the history of Cyrus, whose education he extols, he lays down the model of an accomplished prince, and the idea of a perfect government. We are told, that he composed this piece with no other design but to contradict Plato's Commonwealth, which had lately appeared; and that Plato was so angry upon that account, that to discredit this work, he spoke of Cyrus, in a book which he afterwards wrote, as of a prince indeed of great courage and love of his country, but one † whose education had been very bad. Aulus Gellius, who relates what I have now said, cannot imagine that two such great philosophers as those in question, could be capable of so mean a jealousy; (it is however but too common amongst men of letters) and he chuses rather to ascribe it to their admirers and partisans. And indeed it often happens that disciples, through a too partial zeal, are more delicate in respect to the reputation of their masters, and urge what concerns them with greater warmth, than themselves.

CHAPTER II.

Division of the Ionic philosophy into different sects.

BEFORE Socrates there had been no different sects amongst the philosophers, though their opinions were not always the same: but from his time many rose up, of which some subsisted longer in vogue, and others were of shorter duration. I shall begin with the latter, which are the Cyrenaic, Megarean, Elian and Eretrian sects. They take their names from the places where they were instituted.

† Παιδείας δὲ ὀρθῆς ἐχ' ἡφθαι τὸ παράπαν.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Cyrenaic sect.

ARISTIPPUS.

ARISTIPPUS was the chief of the Cyrenaic sect. Laert. He was originally of Cyrene in Libya. The great reputation of Socrates induced him to quit his country, in order to settle at Athens and to have the pleasure of hearing him. He was one of that philosopher's principal disciples : but he led a life very repugnant to the precepts taught in that excellent school, and when he returned into his own country, opened a very different course for his disciples. The great principle of his doctrine was, that the supreme good of man during this life is pleasure. His manners did not belie his opinions, and he employed a ready and agreeable turn of wit in eluding, by pleasantries, the just reproaches made him on account of his excesses. He perpetually abandoned himself to feasting and women. * When he was railled upon his commerce with the courtesan Lais : *True*, said he, *I possess Lais, but not Lais me.* Upon being reproached for living with too much splendor, he replied : *If good living were a crime, there would not be so much feasting on the festivals of the gods.*

The reputation of Dionysius the tyrant, whose court was the centre of pleasures, whose purse was said to be always open to the learned, and whose table was always served with the utmost magnificence, drew him to Syracuse. As his wit was supple, ready, and insinuating, and he omitted no occasion of soothing the prince, and bore his raillery and intervals of bad humour with a patience

* Ne Aristippus quidem ille Socraticus erubuit, cum esset objectum habere eum Laida :

Habeo, inquit, *Laida*, non habeo à *Laida*. Cic. Ep. 26. l. 9. ad Fam.

next to slavish, he had abundance of credit in that court. Dionysius asking him one day, why philosophers were always seen in the houses of the great, and the great never in those of philosophers? *It is*, replied Aristippus, *because philosophers know what they want, and the great don't.*

If Aristippus could content himself with herbs, said Diogenes the Cynic to him, *he would not be so base as to court princes.* *If my critic*, replied Aristippus, *knew how to make his court to princes, he would not content himself with herbs.*

*Si pranderet olus patienter, Regibus uti
Nollet Aristippus. Si sciret Regibus uti
Fastidiret olus qui me notat.* Hor. Ep. 17. l. 1.

The one's view was good living, the other's to be admired by the people.

Scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu.

And which is best? Horace, without hesitating, gives Aristippus the preference, whom he praises in more than one place. He resembled him too much himself, not to do so. However he dares not abandon himself to the principles of Aristippus; and falls insensibly into them by propensity of nature.

Nunc in Aristippi furtim præcepta relabor.

Id. Ep. 1. l. 1.

So mean is the love of pleasure, that let those who give themselves up to it dissemble ever so well, they cannot entirely conceal their shame!

Aristippus was the first disciple of Socrates that took a certain præmium from those he taught, which gave his master great offence. Having demanded fifty drachmas of a man for teaching his son:

About 25
shillings.

“How fifty drachmas, cried the father! Why
“that's enough to buy a slave. Indeed? replied
“Aristippus,

“ Aristippus, buy him then, and you'll have
“ two.”

Aristippus died on his return from Syracuse to Cyrene. He had a daughter, named Areta, whom he took great care to educate in his own principles, in which she became a great proficient. She instructed her son Aristippus, surnamed *μυττροδιδάκτωρ*, in them herself.

THEODORUS.

THEODORUS, the disciple of Aristippus, beside the other principles of the Cyrenaics, publicly taught that there were no gods. The people of Cyrene banished him. He took refuge at Athens, where he would have been tried and condemned in the Areopagus, if Demetrius Phalereus had not found means to save him. Ptolomy the son of Lagus received him into his service, and sent him once as his ambassador to Lyfimachus. The philosopher spoke to that prince with so much impudence, that one of his ministers, who was present, told him ; *I fancy, Theodorus, you imagine there are no kings, as well as no gods.*

It is believed that this philosopher was at last condemned to die, and obliged to take poison.

We see here that the impious doctrine of atheism, contrary to the general and immemorial belief of mankind, scandalized and offended all nations so much, as to be deemed worthy of death. It owes its birth to teachers abandoned to the debaucheries of women and the table, and who propose to themselves the pleasures of the senses as the great ends of being.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Megarean sect.

IT was instituted by EUCLID, who was of Megara, a city of Achaia, near the Isthmus of Corinth.

Amplius
viginti
millia.

Corinth. He actually studied under Socrates at Athens, at the time of the famous decree, that partly occasioned the Peloponnesian war, by which the citizens of Megara were prohibited to set foot in Athens upon pain of death. So great a danger could not abate his zeal for the study of wisdom. In the disguise of a woman he entered the city in the evening, passed the night with Socrates, and went back before light, going regularly every day almost ten leagues forwards and backwards. There are few examples of so warm and constant an ardour for knowledge.

He departed very little from his master's opinions. After the death of Socrates, Plato and other philosophers, who apprehended the effects of it, retired to him at Megara, who gave them a very good reception. His brother one day in great rage upon some particular subject of discontent, saying to him: *May I perish if I am not revenged on you.* And may I perish, replied Euclid, *if my kindness does not at length correct this violence of your temper, and make you as much my friend as ever.*

The Euclid of whom we speak, is not Euclid the mathematician, who was also of Megara, but flourished above ninety years after under the first of the Ptolomys.

His successor was EUBULIDES, who had been his disciple. Diodorus succeeded the latter. We find in the sequel, that these three philosophers contributed very much to the introduction into logical disputations of a bad taste for subtle reasonings, founded solely upon sophisms.

I shall almost pass over in silence what regards the Elian and Eretrian sects, which include few things of any importance.

ARTICLE III.

Of the Elian and Eretrian sects.

I Confound these two sects together, and reduce what I have to say of them to a few words, as they contain nothing important.

The *Elian* sect was founded by Phædon, one of the favourite disciples of Socrates. He was of Elis in Peloponnesus.

The *Eretrian* was so called from Eretria a city of Eubœa, the country of Menedemus its founder.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the three sects of Academics.

OF all the sects the school of Socrates brought forth, the most famous was the *ACADEMIC*, so called from the place where they assembled, which was the house of an antient hero of Athens, named *ACADEMUS*, situated in the suburbs of that city, where Plato taught. We have seen in the history of Cimon the Athenian general, who fought to distinguish himself no less by his love for learning and learned men than his military exploits, that he adorned the academy with fountains and walks of trees for the convenience of the philosophers who assembled there. From that time all places, where men of letters assemble, have been called *Academies*.

Three *Academies*, or sects of Academics, are reckoned. Plato was the founder of the *antient*, or *first*. Arcefilaus, one of his successors, made some alterations in his philosophy, and by that reformation founded what is called the *middle*, or *second* academy. The *new*, or third academy, is attributed to Carneades. We shall soon see wherein their difference consisted.

S E C T. I.

Of the antient Academy.

THOSE who made it flourish in succession to one another were Plato, Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemon, and Crantor.

P L A T O.

A. M.

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Ant. J. C.

428.

PLATO was born in the first year of the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad. He was at first called Aristocles from the name of his grandfather ; but his master of the Palestra called him Plato from his large and broad shoulders, which name he retained. Whilst he was an infant in arms, sleeping one day under a myrtle, a swarm of bees settled upon his lips, which was taken for an omen, that the child would prove very eloquent, and distinguish himself highly by the sweetness of his style. This came to pass, whatever we may think of the augury ; from whence the surname of *Apis Attica*, Athenian bee, was given him.

He studied grammar, music, and painting, under the most able masters. He applied himself also to poesy, and even composed tragedies, which he burnt at the age of twenty after having heard Socrates. He attached himself solely to that philosopher ; and as he was exceedingly inclined to virtue by nature, made such improvements from the lessons of his master, that at twenty-five he gave extraordinary proofs of his wisdom.

A. M.

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Ant. J. C.

404.

The fate of Athens was at that time very deplorable. Lyfander the Lacedæmonian general had established the thirty tyrants there. Plato's merit, which was already well known, induced them to use their utmost endeavours to engage him in their party, and to oblige him to share in the affairs of the government. To this he consented at first, with the hope either of opposing, or at least of softening,

softening, the tyranny : but he presently perceived, that the evil had no remedy, and that to share in the public affairs, it was necessary either to render himself an accomplice of their crimes, or the victim of their appetites. He therefore waited a more favourable occasion.

That time seemed soon after to be arrived. The tyrants were expelled, and the form of the government entirely changed. But the affairs of the public were in no better a condition, and the state received new wounds every day. Socrates himself was sacrificed to the malice of his enemies. Plato retired to the house of Euclid at Megara, from whence he went to Cyrene, to cultivate the mathematics under Theodorus, the greatest mathematician of his time. He afterwards visited Egypt, and conversed a great while with the Egyptian priests, who taught him great part of their traditions. It is even believed, that they made him acquainted with the books of Moses, and the prophets. Not content with all these acquisitions, he went to that part of Italy called Græcia Magna, to hear the three most famous Pythagoreans of those times, Philolaus, Archytas of Tarentum, and Eurytus. From thence he went into Sicily, to see the wonders of that island, and especially the volcano of mount Ætna. This voyage, which was a mere effect of his curiosity, laid the first foundations of the liberty of Syracuse, as I have explained at large in the history of Dionysius, the father and son, and in that of Dion. He intended to have gone to Persia, in order to have consulted the Magi : but was prevented by the wars, which at that time troubled Asia.

A. M.
3602.
Ant. J. C.
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At his return to his country after all his travels, in which he had acquired an infinitude of curious knowledge, he settled his abode in the quarter of the suburb of Athens, called the Academy, (of which

which we have spoke above) where he gave his lessons, and formed so many illustrious disciples.

Plato composed a system of doctrine from the opinions of three philosophers. He followed Heraclitus in natural and sensible things : that is to say, he believed with Heraclitus, that there was but one world ; that all things were produced by their contraries ; that motion, which he calls war, occasions the production of beings, and rest their dissolution.

He followed Pythagoras in intellectual truths, or what we call the metaphysics : that is to say, he taught as that philosopher did, that there is but one God, the author of all things ; that the soul is immortal ; that men have only to take pains to purge themselves of their passions and vices, in order to be united to God ; that after this life there is a reward for the good, and a punishment for the wicked ; that between God and man there are various orders of spirits, which are the ministers of the supreme Being. He had also taken the Metempsychosis from Pythagoras, but given it a construction of his own.

And finally he imitated Socrates in respect to morality and politics ; that is to say, he reduced every thing to the manners, and laboured only to incline all men to discharge the duties of the state of life, in which the Divine Providence has placed them.

He also very much improved logic, or, which is the same thing, the art of reasoning with order and exactness.

All the works of Plato, except his letters, of which only twelve are come down to us, are in the form of dialogues. He purposely chose that manner of writing, as more agreeable, familiar, comprehensive, and better adapted to instruct and persuade, than any other. By the help of it he succeeded wonderfully in placing truths in their full light. He gives to each of his speakers his proper character ;

character; and by an admirable * chain of reasons, which necessarily induce each other, he leads them on to admit, or rather to say themselves, all he would prove to them.

As to the style, it is impossible to imagine any thing greater, more noble, or more majestic; that, says † Quintilian, he seems not to speak the language of men, but of the gods. The flow and numbers of his elocution form an harmony scarce inferior to that of Homer's poetry; and the Atticism, which, amongst the Greeks, was in point of style whatever was finest, most delicate, and most perfect in every kind, prevails in it universally, and shews itself every where in a manner entirely peculiar.

But neither the beauty of style, the elegance and happiness of expressions, nor the harmony of numbers, constitute the value of Plato's writings. What is most to be admired in them, is the solidity and greatness of the sentiments, maxims, and principles diffused throughout them, whether for the conduct of life, policy, government, or religion. I shall cite some passages from them in the sequel.

Plato died in the first year of the CVIIIth Olympiad, which was the thirteenth of the reign of Philip of Macedon, aged eighty-one, and upon the same day he was born.

He had many disciples, of whom the most distinguished were Speusippus his nephew by the mother's side, Xenocrates of Chalcedon, and the celebrated Aristotle. Theophrastus is also said to have been of the number of his hearers, and De-

* In dialogis Socraticorum, maximeque Platonis, adeo scitæ sunt interrogationes, ut, cum plerisque bene respondeatur, res tandem ad id quod volunt

efficere, perveniat. *Quintil.* l. 5. c. 7.

† Ut mihi, non hominis ingenio, sed quodam Delphico videatur oraculo instinctus. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

mosthenes to have always considered him as his master ; of which his style is a good proof. Dion, the brother-in-law of Dionysius the tyrant, also did him great honour by his excellent character, his inviolable attachment to his person, his extraordinary taste for philosophy, the rare qualities of his head and heart, and his great and heroic actions for re-establishing the liberty of his country.

Cic. Acad. After the death of Plato, his disciples divided
Quæst. l. i. themselves into two sects. The first continued to
n. 17—18. teach in the Academy, the name of which they retained. The others settled their school in the Ly-cæum, a place in Athens adorned with porticos and gardens. They were called Peripatetics, and had Aristotle for their founder. These two sects differed only in name, and agreed as to opinions. They had both renounced the custom and maxim of Socrates, which was to affirm nothing, and to explain themselves in disputes only dubiously and with reserve. I shall speak of the Peripatetics in the sequel, when I have briefly related the history of the philosophers who fixed their residence in the Academy.

SPEUSIPPUS.

Laert.

I have already said that he was Plato's nephew. His conduct was so very irregular in his youth, that his parents turned him out of their house. That of his uncle became his asylum. Plato behaved to him as if he had never heard of his debauched life. His friends were shocked and amazed at his placing his kindness so ill, and at so indolent a conduct, and blamed him for taking no pains to correct his nephew, and reform his dissolute manners. He replied calmly, that he laboured more effectually to that purpose than they imagined, in shewing him by his own manner of living the infinite difference between virtue and vice, and between decency and depravity. And indeed that method succeeded

succeeded so well, that it inspired Speusippus with a very great respect for him, and a violent desire of imitating him, and of devoting himself to philosophy, in the study of which he afterwards made very great proficiency. It requires no common address to manage the spirit of a vicious young man, and to bring him over to a sense of his duty. The boiling heat of youth seldom gives way to violence, which often serves only to inflame and precipitate it into despair.

Plato had cultivated a particular intimacy between Speusippus and Dion, with the view of softening the austere temper of the latter, by the gaiety and insinuating manners of his nephew.

He succeeded his uncle in the school after his death, but held it only eight years; after which his infirmities obliged him to resign it to Xenocrates. Speusippus did not depart from Plato's doctrine, but was not studious to imitate him in his practice. He was choleric, loved pleasure, and seemed self-interested; for he exacted a præmium from his disciples, contrary to the custom and principles of Plato.

XENOCRATES.

XENOCRATES was of Chalcedon, and became very early Plato's disciple.

He studied under that great master at the same time as Aristotle, but not with the same talents.

* He had occasion for a spur, and the other for a bridle; which are Plato's own words of them, who added, that in putting them together, he coupled an horse with an ass. He is praised for not being discouraged by the slowness of his parts, which made study much more laborious to him than to others. Plutarch uses the example of him, *Plut. de* and that of Cleanthes, to encourage such as per-audit. p. 47.

* *Isocrates said the same thing of Theopompus and Ephorus.*

ceive they have less penetration and vivacity than others, and exhorts them to imitate those two great philosophers, and like them, to set themselves above the ridicule of their companions. If Xenocrates, from the heaviness of his genius, was inferior to Aristotle, he far surpassed him in practical philosophy and purity of manners.

Diog.
Laert.

He was naturally melancholy, and had something stiff and austere in his temper; for which reason Plato often advised him *to sacrifice to the Graces*, signifying clearly enough by those words, that it was necessary for him to soften the severity of his temper. He sometimes reproved him for that fault with more force, and less reserve, apprehending that his pupil's want of politeness and good nature would become an obstacle to all the good effects of his instruction and example. Xenocrates was not insensible to those reproaches: but they never diminished the profound respect he always had for his master. And when endeavours were used to make him angry with Plato, and he was provoked to defend himself with some vivacity, he stopped the mouths of his indiscreet friends with saying, *He uses me so for my good*. He took Plato's place in the second year of the CXth Olympiad.

Ælian.
l. 14. c. 9.

A. M.
3666.

Diog.
Laert.

Diogenes Laertius says, that he loved neither pleasure, riches, nor praise. He shewed on many occasions a generous and noble disinterestedness. The court of Macedonia had the reputation of retaining a great number of pensioners and spies in all the neighbouring republics, and to corrupt with bribes all persons sent to negotiate with them. Xenocrates was deputed with some other Athenians to Philip. That prince, who perfectly understood the art of insinuating into people's favour, applied himself in a particular manner to Xenocrates, whose merit and reputation he was apprized of. When he found him inaccessible to presents and

and interest, he endeavoured to mortify him by an affected contempt, and ill treatment, not admitting him to his conferences with the other ambassadors from the commonwealth of Athens, whom he had corrupted by his caresses, feasts, and liberalities. Our philosopher, firm and unalterable in his principles, retained all his stiffness and integrity, and though wholly excluded, continued perfectly easy, and never appeared either at audiences or feasts as his colleagues did. At their return to Athens, his colleagues endeavoured in concert to discredit him with the people, and complained, that he had been of no manner of use to them in this embassy; in consequence of which he was very near having a fine laid on him. Xenocrates, forced by the injustice of his accusers to break silence, explained all that had passed in Philip's court, made the people sensible of what importance it was to have a strict eye upon the conduct of deputies who had sold themselves to the enemy of the commonwealth, covered his colleagues with shame and confusion, and acquired immortal glory.

His disinterestedness was also put to the proof by Alexander the Great. The ambassadors of that prince, who without doubt came to Athens upon account of some negociation, (neither the time nor the affair are said) offered Xenocrates from their master fifty talents, that is to say, fifty thousand crowns. Xenocrates invited them to supper. The entertainment was simple, frugal, plain, and truly philosophical. * The next day the deputies asked him, into whose hands they should pay the money they had orders to give him. *How!* said he to them, *did not my feast yesterday inform you, that I have no*

* Cùm postridie rogarent eum, cui numerari juberet: *Quid! Vos hesternâ, inquit, cœnula non intellexistis, me pecunia non egere?* Quos cùm trilliores vidisset, triginta minas accepit, ne aspernari regis liberalitatem videretur. Cic.

occasion for money? He added that Alexander was more in want of it than him, because he had more mouths to feed. Seeing that his answer made them sad, he accepted of thirty minæ (about seventy-five pounds) that he might not seem to despise the king's liberality out of pride. * Thus, says an historian, in concluding his account of this fact, the king would have purchased the friendship of the philosopher, and the philosopher would not sell it to the king.

Plut. in
Flamin.
p. 375.

His disinterestedness must have reduced him to great poverty, as he could not discharge a certain tax, which strangers were obliged to pay yearly into the public treasury of Athens. Plutarch tells us, that one day, as they were haling him to prison for not having paid this tribute, the orator Lycurgus discharged the sum, and took him out of the hands of the farmers of the revenue, who frequently are not too sensible to the merit of the learned. Xenocrates some days after meeting the son of his deliverer, told him; *I pay your father the favour he did me with interest; for all the world praises him upon my account.* Diogenes Laertius tells us something very like this of him, which perhaps is the same fact disguised under different circumstances. He says that the Athenians sold him, because he could not pay the capitation laid upon strangers: but that Demetrius Phalereus bought him, and immediately gave him his liberty. It is not very probable, that the Athenians should treat a philosopher of the reputation of Xenocrates with so much cruelty.

Diog.
Laert. in
Xenoc.

Cic. Orat. Athens had a very high idea of his probity.
pro Corn. One day when he appeared before the judges to
Balb. n. 14. give evidence in some affair, on his going towards
Val. Max. the altar, in order to swear that what he had

l. 6. c. 9.

* Ita rex philosophi amicitiam emere voluit: philosophus regi suam vendere noluit.
Val. Max.

affirmed

affirmed was true, all the judges rose up, and would not suffer him to do so, declaring that his word was as satisfactory to them as an oath.

Happening in company, where abundance of scandal was talked, he did not share in it, and continued mute. Upon being asked by somebody the reason of his profound silence, he replied; *It is because I have often repented speaking, but never holding my tongue.*

He had a very fine maxim upon the education Plut. de of youth, which it were to be wished parents audit. p. 32 would cause to be observed in their houses. * He was, from their earliest infancy, for having wife and virtuous discourses often repeated in their presence; but without affectation; in order that they might seize in a manner of their ears, as of a place hitherto unoccupied, through which virtue and vice might equally penetrate to the heart; and that those wife and virtuous discourses, like faithful centinels, should keep the entrance firmly closed against all words that might corrupt the purity of manners in the least, till by long habit youth were become strong, and their † ears safe against the envenomed breath of bad conversation.

According to Xenocrates, there are no true phi- Plut de losophers but those who do that voluntarily and of virt. moral. their own accord, which others do only through P. 446. fear of punishment and the laws.

He composed several works, amongst the rest Diog. La- one upon the method of reigning well; at least ert. Alexander asked it of him.

* Ταῖν λόγων τὰς φαύλας φυλάττειν παραινῶν, πρὶν ἑτέρας χρησῆς. ὥσπερ φύλακας, ἐντραφέντας ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας, τῷ ἔθει τὴν μάλιστ' ἀναμμένην αὐτῶν ἢ ἀναπειδομένην χάραν καταχεῖν.

† He alludes to the *Athletæ*, who in boxing used to cover their heads and ears with a kind of

leathern cap, to deaden the violence of the blows. He says that this precaution is much more necessary to youth. For all the risk the *Athletæ* ran was of having their ears hurt; whereas young persons hazard their innocence, and even the loss of themselves.

He lost little time in visits, was very fond of the retirement of his study, and meditated much. He seldom was seen in the streets: but when he appeared there, the debauched youth used to fly to avoid meeting him.

Diog. La-
ert.
Val. Max.
l. 6. c. 90.

A young Athenian, more vicious than the rest, and absolutely infamous for his irregularities in which he gloried, was not so much awed by him. His name was Polemon. On leaving a party of debauch, passing by the school of Xenocrates, and finding the door open, he went in, full of wine, sweet with essence, and with a wreath on his head. In this condition he took his seat amongst the auditors, less to hear than out of insolence. The whole assembly were strangely surprized and offended. Xenocrates, without the least emotion or change of countenance, only varied the discourse, and went on with speaking upon temperance and sobriety, all the advantages of which he set in full light, by opposing to those virtues the shame and turpitude of the contrary vices. The young libertine, who listened with attention, opened his eyes to the deformity of his condition, and was ashamed of himself. * The wreath falls from his head; with downcast eyes he hides himself in his cloak, and instead of that gay insolence which he had shewn on entering the school, he appears serious and thoughtful. An entire change of conduct ensued; and absolutely cured of his bad passions by a single discourse, from an infamous debauchee, he became an excellent philosopher, and made an happy amends for the vices of his youth by a wise and regular course of life, from which he never departed.

* ————— Faciasne quod olim
Mutatus Polemon? Ponas insignia morbi,
Fasciolas, cubital, focalia? potus ut ille
Dicitur ex collo furtim carpiisse coronas,
Postquam est impranti correptus voce magistri.

Hor. Sat. 3. l. 3.
Xenocrates

Xenocrates died at the age of eighty-two, the first year of the CXVIth olympiad.

A. M.
3688.
Ant. J. C.
316.

POLEMON. CRATES. CRANTOR.

I join these three philosophers under the same title, because little is known of their lives.

POLEMON worthily succeeded his master Xenocrates, and never departed from his opinions, nor the example of wisdom and sobriety, which he had set him. He renounced wine in such a manner at the age of thirty, which was the time his celebrated change of conduct began, that during the rest of his life he never drank any thing but water.

CRATES, who was his successor, is little known, and must be distinguished from a cynic philosopher of the same name, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

CRANTOR was more famous. He was of Soli in Cilicia. He quitted his native country, and came to Athens, where he was the disciple of Xenocrates at the same time with Polemon. * He passes for one of the great pillars of the Platonic sect. What Horace says of him in praising Homer, argues the great reputation of this philosopher, and how much his principles of morality were in esteem :

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile,
quid non,

Pleniùs ac meliùs Chrysippo & Crantore dicit.

Hor. Ep. 2. l. 1.

*Who tells what's great, what mean, what fit, what
Better than Crantor or Chrysippus taught. [not,*

*The same cannot be said of his principles upon
the nature of the soul, as we shall see in its place.*

* Crantor ille qui in nostra academia vel in primis fuit nobilis.
Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 3. n. 12.

OF PHILOSOPHY.

He wrote a book upon *Consolation*, which is lost: it was addressed to Hippocles, whom an early death had deprived of all his children. It is mentioned *as a book of gold, of which every word deserved to be got by heart. Cicero had made great use of it in a tract that bore the same title. Arcefilaus the author of the middle academy was his disciple.

S E C T. II.

Of the Middle Academy.

IT is so called, because it subsisted between the ancient academy instituted by Plato, and the new that soon succeeded it, of which Carneades was the author.

ARCESILAUS.

Diog.
Laert. in
Arcelil.

Num.
apud Eu-
seb. Præp.
Evang.
l. 14. c. 5.

Diog.
Laert.

ARCESILAUS was born at Pitane in Æolia. He went to Athens and became the disciple of the greatest philosophers, of which number were Polemon, Theophrastus, Crantor, Diodorus, and Pyrrho. It was evidently of the last that he learnt to doubt every thing. He was only an academic by name, which he retained out of respect to Crantor, upon being whose disciple he valued himself.

He succeeded Crates, or according to others, Polemon, as professor in the Platonic school, in which he became an innovator. For he founded a sect, which was called the second or middle academy, to distinguish it from that of Plato. He was very opposite to the Dogmatists, that is to say, the philosophers who affirmed and decided. He seemed to doubt all things; maintained both sides of a question, and determined nothing. He

* Legimus omnes Crantoris, veteris Academici, de luctu: est enim non magnus, verum aureolus, &, ut Tuberoni Pa-

natus præcipit, ad verbum ediscendus libellus. *Acad. Quæst.* l. 4. n. 135.

seemed to doubt all things ; maintained both sides of a question, and determined nothing. He had a great number of disciples. To attack all the sciences, and to reject not only the evidence of the senses, but of reason, was certainly the boldest undertaking that could be formed in the republic of letters. To hope any success in it, required all the merit of Arcefilaus. * He was by nature of an happy, ready, warm genius : his person was very graceful, and his manner of speaking happy and delightful. The beauty of his aspect admirably seconded the charms of his utterance. Accordingly Lucullus †, who learnedly and solidly refutes the opinion of the academics, says that nobody would have followed the opinion of Arcefilaus, if the eloquence and address of the teacher had not covered, and made the manifest absurdity of his doctrine disappear.

Things much for his honour are related of his liberality. || He delighted in doing good, and was not willing that it should be known. ‡ Visiting a ** friend who was sick, and wanted necessities, but was ashamed to own it, he dexterously slid a purse full of money under his pillow, to spare his shame and delicacy, and that he might seem rather to have found than accepted it.

* Arcefilas floruit, tum acumine ingenii, tum admirabili quodam lepore dicendi. *Acad. m. Quæst.* l. 4. n. 16.

† Quis ista, tam apertè perspicuèque & perversa & falsa, secutus esset, nisi tanta in Arcefila — & copia rerum, & dicendi vis fuisset? *Ibid.* n. 60.

|| Ἐυεργετῆσαι πρόχειρον ἦν, καὶ λαθεῖν τὴν χάριν ἐτυφώτατον. *Diog. Laert.*

‡ Arcefilaus ut aiunt, amico pauperi, & paupertatem suam

dissimulanti, ægro autem, & ne hoc quidem contenti deesse sibi in sumptum ad necessarios usus, cùm clam succurrendum judicasset, pulvino ejus ignorantis sacculum subjecit, ut homo inutiliter verecundus, quod desiderabat, inveniret potiùs quàm acciperet. *Seneca. de Benef.* l. 2.

** Seneca calls him *Ctesibius* : Plutarch gives him another name. De discrim. amic. & adulat. p. 63.

Diog.
Laert.

Authors do not give so favourable a testimony of the purity of his manners, and accuse him of the most infamous vices. And that ought not to appear strange in a philosopher, who doubting every thing, doubted in consequence the existence of virtue and vice, and could not really admit any rule in respect to the duties of civil life.

Idem.

He did not care to have any part in the public affairs. However, having been chosen to go to Demetrius in order to negotiate for his country with Antigonus, he accepted the deputation, but returned without success.

In the torments of the * gout, he affected the patience and insensibility of a Stoic. *Nothing from those has reached this*, said he, pointing to his feet and touching his † breast, to Carneades the Epicurean, who was much concerned to see him suffer in that manner. He was for making the other believe, that his soul was inaccessible to pain. Lofty language, with nothing real in it but pride!

Diog.
Laert.

Archeilaus flourished about the CXXth Olympiad, that is to say, about the year of the world 3704. He died of excessive drinking, which had made him delirious, at the age of 75.

Acad.

Quæst. 1.4.
n. 16.

His successors were Lacydes, Evander, and Egesimus, which last was the master of Carneades.

S E C T. III.

Of the New Academy.

C A R N E A D E S.

CARNEADES of Cyrene instituted the third or new academy, which properly speak-

* Is cùm arderet & podagræ doloribus, visitassetque hominem Carneades Epicuri per familiaris, & tristis exiret: Mane, quæso, inquit, Carneade noster. Nihil illinc huc pervenit, of-

tendens pedes & pectus. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 94.

† The antients believed the breast the seat of the soul and of courage.

ing

ing did not differ from the second. For, except some few palliatives, Carneades was as warm and zealous an advocate for uncertainty as Arcefilaus. * The difference between them, and the innovation ascribed to him of whom we now speak, consist in his not denying with Arcefilaus, that there are truths; but he maintained that they were compounded with so many obscurities, or rather falsehoods, that it was not in our power to discern with certainty the true from the false. He went therefore so far as to admit that there were probable things, and agreed that probability might determine us to act, provided we did not pronounce absolutely upon any thing. Thus he seems to have retained at bottom the whole doctrine of Arcefilaus, but out of policy, and to deprive his opponents of the more specious pretexts for declaiming against, and ridiculing him, he granted degrees of probability, which ought to determine the wise man to chuse this or that in the conduct of civil life. He saw plainly, that without these concessions he should never be able to answer the strongest objections to his principle, nor to prove that it did not reduce man to inaction.

Carneades was the declared antagonist of the Stoics, and applied himself with extreme ardor to refute the works of Chrysippus, who had been for some time the support of the Porch. He so ar- Val. Max. dently desired to overcome him, that in preparing l. 8. c. 7. for the dispute he took hellebore, in order to have his mind the more free, and to give the fire of his imagination the greater force against him.

* Non sumus ii quibus nihil verum esse videatur, sed ii qui omnibus veris falsa quædam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certa judicandi & assentiendi nota. Ex quo existit & illud, multa esse probabilia; quæ quanquam non perciperentur, tamen, quia visum haberent quendam insignem & illustrem, his sapientis vita regeretur. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 12.

Cic de
finib. l. 2.
n. 59.

A maxim of morality, very admirable in a pagan, is ascribed to him. "If a person knew, says he, that an enemy, or another whose death would be for his advantage, would come to sit down upon the grass where an asp lurked, it would be acting dishonestly not to give him notice of it, even though his silence might pass with impunity, nobody being capable of making a crime of it."

But the conduct of these pagans was always inconsistent with itself in some part or other. This grave philosopher was not ashamed of keeping a concubine in the house with him.

Pag. 56.

Plutarch has preserved a pretty reflection of Carneades, in his treatise upon the difference between a friend and a flatterer. He had cited the example of one, who in disputing the prize in the horserace with Alexander, had suffered himself to be beat designedly, for which that prince was very angry with him: he adds, "That the manage is the only thing, in which young princes have nothing to apprehend from flattery. Their other masters frequently enough ascribe good qualities to them, which they have not. But an horse, without regard to rich or poor, to subject or sovereign, throws all the awkward riders that back him."

The embassy of Carneades to Rome is much celebrated: I have spoken of it elsewhere.

Diog.
Laert.
Val. Max.
l. 8. c. 7.

To conclude what relates to Carneades, I shall observe that he had not entirely neglected the Physics, but that he had made the Ethics his principal study. He was extremely laborious, and so avaricious of his time, that he took no care either to pare his nails or cut his hair. Solely devoted to meditation, he not only avoided feasts, but even forgot to eat at his own table, so that his servant, who was also his concubine, was obliged to put meat into his hand, and almost into his mouth.

He

He was extremely afraid of dying. However, upon being informed that his antagonist Antipater, the Stoic philosopher, had poisoned himself, he assumed a short rally of courage against death, and cried out: *Then give me also—What?* asked somebody. *Mulled wine*, replied he, having be- thought himself better of it. Diogenes Laertius ridicules this pusillanimity, and reproaches him with having chosen rather to languish long of the phthisic, than to give himself death: for That the pagans thought glorious, though the wisest amongst them were of a different opinion, *and believed, that nature was the tacit law of God.* He died in the fourth year of the CLXII Olympiad, aged four-score and five years.

Diog.

Laert.

A. M.

3871.

Ant. J. C.

133.

CLITOMACHUS.

CLITOMACHUS, the disciple of Carneades, was his successor. He was a Carthaginian, and called Asdrubal in the Punic tongue. He composed several books, which were highly esteemed, and of which one was intitled, *Consolation.* He addressed it to his countrymen after the taking and destruction of Carthage, to console them under the state of captivity into which they were fallen.

Plut. de

fort. Alex.

P. 328.

Cic. l. 3.

Tuscul.

Quæst.

n. 54.

PHILO. ANTIOCHUS.

PHILO succeeded his master Clitomachus. He taught both philosophy and rhetoric, but at different times. Cicero frequented his school, and improved from his double lectures.

Tuscul.

Quæst.

l. 2. n. 9.

He was also the hearer of Antiochus, Philo's disciple and successor. Antiochus was of Ascalon: and is the last of the Academic philosophers mentioned in history. Cicero in his voyage to Athens was charmed with his calm, flowing, graceful manner of speaking: but he did not approve the change he had introduced in the method of Carneades. For Antiochus, after having long and strenuously

Plut. in

Cic. p. 862.

strenuously maintained the opinions of the new academy, which rejected entirely the evidence of the senses, and even of reason, and taught that there was nothing certain, had on a sudden embraced those of the old academy; whether he had been undeceived by the conviction of reason and the report of his senses; or, as some believed, that jealousy and envy for the disciples of Clitomachus and Philo had induced him to that alteration.

Plut in
Lucull.
P. 519,
520.

Lucullus, the famous Roman, as well known for his wonderful taste for the sciences, as his great ability in war, had declared openly for the sect of the Academics, not of the new Academy, though then very flourishing from the writings of Carneades which Philo explained, but for that of the old Academy, of which the school was held at that time by Antiochus. He had cultivated the friendship of that philosopher with extreme ardor: he gave him an apartment in his own house, and made use of his assistance in opposing the disciples of Philo, of whom Cicero was the chief.

ARTICLE V.

Of the Peripatetics.

ARISTOTLE.

I Have already observed, that after Plato's death, his disciples divided themselves into two sects: of which the one continued in the school where Plato had taught, and the other removed to the Lyceum, an agreeable place in the suburbs of Athens. Aristotle was the chief and founder of the latter.

Diog.
Laert.
A. M.
3620.

He was a native of Stagira a city of Macedonia, and was born in the first year of the XCIXth Olympiad, forty years after Plato. His father Nicomachus was a physician, and flourished in the reign of Amyntas king of Macedonia, Philip's father.

At

At the age of seventeen he went to Athens, and entered himself in the school of Plato, under whom he studied twenty years. He was its greatest honour, and Plato used to call him the soul of his school. His passion for study was so great, that in order to prevent sleep from engrossing him, he placed a basin of brass by his bed-side, and when he lay down, extended one of his hands out of bed with an iron ball in it, that the noise made by the falling of the ball into the basin, when he fell asleep, might immediately wake him.

After Plato's death, which happened in the first year of the CVIIIth Olympiad, he retired to the house of Hermias tyrant of Atarneus in Mysia, ^{A M. 3656.} his fellow-pupil, who received him with joy, and loaded him with honours. Hermias having been condemned and put to death by the king of Persia, Aristotle married his sister Pithias, who was left without fortune or protector.

It was at this time Philip chose him, to take care of the education of his son Alexander, who might then be about fourteen or fifteen years old. He had long before designed him that important ^{Aul. Gell. l. 9. c. 3.} and glorious employment. As soon as his son came into the world, he informed him of his birth by a letter, which does Philip no less honour than Aristotle, and which I am not afraid to repeat in this place. *You have this, says he, to inform you, that I have a son. I thank the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as for having given him to me in the time of Aristotle. It is with reason I assure myself, that you will make him a successor worthy of us, and a king worthy of Macedonia. Quintilian* * says expressly, that Aristotle taught Alex-

* An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis Philosopho voluisset, aut ille

suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia à perfectissimo quoque tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset? *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 1.

ander the first rudiments of grammar. But as that opinion admits of some difficulty, I do not entirely give into it. When the time for taking upon him the education of that prince arrived, Aristotle repaired to Macedonia. We have seen elsewhere the high value, which Philip and Alexander expressed for his extraordinary merit.

After a residence of some years in that court, he obtained permission to retire. Callisthenes, who had accompanied him thither, took his place, and was appointed to follow Alexander into the field. † Aristotle, in whom profound judgment and a great knowledge of the world were united, upon the point of setting sail for Athens, advised Callisthenes not to forget one maxim of Xenophanes, which he judged absolutely necessary to persons who live in courts: “Speak seldom to the prince, “or speak so as to please him: that your silence may either make you more secure, or your “discourse more agreeable to him.” Callisthenes, who was naturally morose and austere, made but ill use of this counsel, which indeed at bottom favours more of the courtier than the philosopher.

Aristotle then not having thought proper to follow his pupil to the war, to which his attachment to study made him very averse, after Alexander's departure returned to Athens. He was received there with all the marks of distinction due to a philosopher that excelled in so many respects. Xenocrates at that time presided in Plato's school in the Academy: Aristotle opened his in the Lycæum. The concourse of his hearers was extraordinary. In the morning his lessons were upon philosophy, and in the afternoon upon rhetoric: he

† Aristoteles, Callisthenem auditorem suum ad Alexandrum dimittens, monuit ut cum eo aut rarissimè, aut quàm

jucundissimè loqueretur: quò scilicet apud regias aures vel silentio tutior, vel sermone esset acceptior. *Val. Max.* l. 7. c. 2.
usually

usually gave them walking, which occasioned his disciples to be called Peripatetics.

He taught only philosophy at first: but the great reputation of Isocrates, then ninety years old, who had applied himself solely to rhetoric, and with incredible success, excited his jealousy and induced him also to teach it. It is perhaps to this noble emulation, allowable between the learned, when confined to imitating, or even surpassing what others have done well, that we owe Aristotle's Rhetoric, the most compleat and most esteemed work the antients have left us upon that subject; unless we chuse rather to believe it composed for Alexander.

So shining a merit as Aristotle's did not fail to excite envy, which seldom spares great men. As long as Alexander lived, that conqueror's name suspended the effects of it, and awed the malignity of his enemies. But he was no sooner dead, than they rose up in concert against him, and swore his destruction. Eurymedon, priest of Ceres, lent them his assistance, and served their hatred with a zeal the more to be feared, as it was covered with the mask of religion. He cited Aristotle before the judges, and accused him of impiety, pretending that he taught doctrines contrary to the worship of the gods established at Athens. To prove this, he referred to Aristotle's hymn in honour of Hermias, and the inscription engraved upon his statue in the temple of Delphos. This inscription is still extant in Athenæus and Diogenes Laertius. It consists of four verses, which have no relation to sacred matters, and only to the king of Persia's perfidy to the unfortunate friend of Aristotle: neither is the hymn more criminal. Aristotle might perhaps have offended Eurymedon the priest of Ceres personally by some stroke of ridicule, a much more unpardonable crime than only attacking the gods. However it were, not believing it

Athen.
l. 15. p.
696, 697.

Ælian.
l. 3 c. 36.

safe to wait the event of a trial, he quitted Athens, after having taught there thirteen years. He retired to Chalcis in the island of Eubœa, and pleaded his cause from thence in writing. Athenæus repeats some expressions in this apology, but does not warrant them positively to be Aristotle's. Somebody asking him the cause of his retiring, he answered, *that it was to prevent the Athenians from committing a second murder upon philosophy*, alluding to the death of Socrates.

Laert.
A. M.
3683.

Ammon.
in vit.
Aristot.

It is pretended that he died of grief, because he could not discover the cause of the ebbing and flowing of the Euripus, and that he even threw himself headlong into that sea, saying, *Let the Euripus swallow me, since I can't comprehend it*. There were a multitude of other things in nature beyond his comprehension, and he was too wise to be mortified on that account. Others affirm with more probability, that he died of the cholic in the 63d year of his age, two years after Alexander's death. He was extremely honoured in Stagira the place of his nativity. It had been demolished by Philip king of Macedonia: but Alexander caused it to be rebuilt at the request of Aristotle. The inhabitants in gratitude for that benefit instituted a festival in honour of this philosopher, and when he died at Chalcis in Eubœa, transported his bones to their city, erected an altar upon his monument, gave the place the name of Aristotle, and afterwards held their assemblies in it. He left a son called Nicomachus, and a daughter who was married to a grandson of Demaratus king of Sparta.

Vol. X.

I have related elsewhere the fate of his works, during how many years they remained buried and unknown, and in what manner they were at length brought to light and made public.

L. 10. c. 1.

Quintilian says, that he does not know which to admire most in Aristotle, his vast and profound
erudition,

erudition, the prodigious multitude of the writings which he left behind him, the beauty of his style, or the infinite variety of his works. One Lib 12. would believe, says he in another place, that he c. ult. must have employed several ages in study, for comprehending within the extent of his knowledge all that regards not only philosophy and rhetoric, but even plants and animals, whose nature and properties he studied with infinite application. Alex- Plin. 1. 8. ander, to second his master's ardor in that learned c. 16. labour, and to satisfy his own curiosity, gave orders for making exact enquiries throughout the whole extent of Greece and Asia into all that related to birds, fish, and animals of every kind: Athen. 1. an expence which amounted to above eight hun- 9. p. 898. dred talents, that is to say, eight hundred thousand crowns. Aristotle composed above fifty volumes upon this subject, of which only ten remain.

The university of Paris has thought very differently at different times of Aristotle's writings. In the council of Sens held at Paris in 1209, all his books were ordered to be burnt, and the reading, writing, or keeping them prohibited. The rigor of this prohibition was afterwards something abated. At length, by a decree of the two cardinals sent by pope Urban V to Paris, in the year 1366, to regulate the university, all the books of Aristotle were allowed there: and that decree was renewed and confirmed in 1452 by cardinal Etoutteville. From that time Aristotle's doctrine always prevailed in the university of Paris, till the happy discoveries of the last age opened the eyes of the learned, and made them embrace a system of philosophy highly different from the antient opinions of the schools. But as Aristotle was formerly admired beyond due bounds, he is perhaps despised at present more than he deserves.

Aristotle's Successors.

Laert.

THEOPHRASTUS was of the island of Lesbos. Aristotle before he retired to Chalcis, appointed him his successor. Accordingly he filled the place of his master with so much success and reputation, that the number of his hearers amounted to two thousand. Demetrius Phalereus was one of his disciples and intimate friends. The beauty and delicacy of his eloquence occasioned his being called Theophrastus, which signifies *divine speaker*.

Cicero * relates a circumstance particular enough of him. He was cheapening something of an herb-woman, and was answered by her: *No, Mr. Stranger, you shall have it for no less*. He was extremely surprized and even concerned, that after having passed great part of his life at Athens, the language of which he piqued himself upon speaking in perfection, he could however still be discovered for a stranger. But it was his attention itself to the purity of the Attic dialect carried too far, that occasioned his being known for such, as Quintilian observes. What a taste had Athens even down to the meanest of the people!

He did not believe, any more than Aristotle, that it was possible to enjoy any real felicity here without the goods and conveniences of life: in which, says Cicero †, he degraded virtue, and de-

* Ut ego jam non mirer illud Theophrasto accidisse quod dicitur, cum percontaretur ex ancilla quadam, quanti aliquid venderet? & respondisset illa, atque addidisset: *Hospes, non po:re minoris*: tulisse eum molestè, se non effugere hospitii speciem, cum ætatem ageret Athenis, optimeque loqueretur. *In Brut.* n. 172.

Quomodo & illa Attica anus Theophrastum, hominem ali-

oqui disertissimum, annotata unius affectatione verbi, hospitem dixit: nec aliò se idprehendisse interrogata respondit, quàm quòd nimium Atticè loqueretur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 1.

† Spoliavit virtutem suo decore, imbecillamque reddidit, quod negavit in ea sola positum esse beatè vivere. *Acad. Quæst.* l. 1. n. 33.

prived her of her highest glory ; reducing her to an incapacity of making man happy of herself. He ascribes supreme divinity, in one place, to intelligence, in another to heaven in general ; and after that, to the stars in particular. Lib. 1. de nat. deor. n. 35.

He died at the age of eighty-five, exhausted with labour and study. He is said to have murmured against nature at his death, for granting a long life to stags and ravens, who can make no beneficial use of it ; whilst she abridged that of man, whom a longer date would enable to attain a perfect knowledge in the sciences : a murmur equally trifling and unjust, and which the light of reason only has taught many of the antients to condemn, as a kind of rebellion against the divine will. *Quid enim est aliud gigantum more bellare cum diis, nisi naturæ repugnare ?* Tusc. Quæst. 1. 3. n. 69. Cic. de Senect.

STRATO was of Lampascus. He applied himself very much to the physics, and little to the ethics, which occasioned his being called the physicist. He began to preside in his school in the third year of the CXXIII^d Olympiad, and taught there eighteen years. He was the master of Ptolemy Philadelphus. n. 5. Laert. A. M. 3718.

LYCON of Troas. He governed his school forty years.

ARISTON. CRITOLAUS. The latter was one of the three ambassadors sent by the Athenians to Rome in the second year of the CXLth Olympiad, and the 534th of Rome. A. M. 3781.

DIODORUS. This was one of the last eminent philosophers of the sect of the Peripatetics.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the sect of the Cynics.

ANTISTHENES.

THE Cynic philosophers owe their origin and institution to Antisthenes the disciple of Socrates. This sect derives its name from the place

where its founder taught, called * *Cynosarges*, in the suburb of Athens. If this origin be true, at least, we cannot doubt but their immodesty and impudence might well have confirmed a name given them at first from the place. Antisthenes led a very hard life, and for his whole dress had only a wretched cloak. He had a long beard, a staff in his hand, and a wallet at his back. He reckoned nobility and riches as nothing, and made the supreme good of man consist in virtue. When he was asked of what use philosophy had been to him, he answered, *To enable me to live with myself.*

DIOGENES.

Laert.

DIOGENES was the most celebrated of his disciples. He was of Synope a city of Paphlagonia. He was expelled from thence for counterfeiting the coin. His father, who was a banker, was banished for the same crime. Diogenes, upon arriving at Athens, went to Antisthenes, who treated him with great contempt, and would have driven him away with his staff, because he was resolved to have no more disciples. Diogenes was not surprised, and bowing his head, "Strike, strike," said he, don't be afraid: you'll never find a stick hard enough to make me remove, so long as you speak." Antisthenes, overcome by the obstinacy of Diogenes, permitted him to be his disciple.

Diogenes made great improvements from his lessons, and perfectly imitated his manner of living. His whole furniture consisted of a staff, a wallet, and a wooden bowl. Seeing a little boy drink out of the hollow of his hand: *He shews me,* says he, *that I have still something superfluous,* and broke his bowl. He always went barefoot, without ever wearing sandals, not even when the earth

* This word signifies a white, or a lively and swift dog.

was covered with snow. A tub served him for a lodging, which he rolled before him wherever he went, and had no other habitation. Every body knows what he said to Alexander, who made him a visit at Corinth; and the celebrated saying of that prince, *If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.* * Juvenal, accordingly, finds the inhabitant of the tub greater and more happy than the conqueror of the universe. The one desired nothing, and the whole world was too little for the other. † Seneca therefore is not mistaken, when he says that Alexander, the proudest of mankind, who believed that every thing ought to tremble before him, was forced that day to submit to Diogenes, having found a man in him, from whom he could take, and to whom he could give, nothing.

For the rest we are not to believe, that he was the more humble for his ragged cloak, bag, and tub. He had as much vanity in those Ælian. things, as Alexander could have from the conquest l. 3. c. 29. of the whole earth. One day entering Plato's Diog. house, which was furnished magnificently enough, Laert. he trampled a fine carpet under his feet, saying, *I tread upon the pride of Plato.* Yes, replied the latter, *but with another kind of pride.*

He had a supreme contempt for all human race. Walking at noon with a lighted lanthorn in his hand, somebody asked him what he sought? *I am seeking a man,* replied he.

Upon seeing a slave put on a person's shoes: *You'll not be satisfied,* says he, *till he wipes your nose for you.* *Of what use are your hands to you?*

* Senfit Alexander, testa cùm vidit in illa
Magnum habitorem, quanto felicior hic, qui
Nil cuperet, quàm qui totum sibi posceret orbem.

† Quidni victus fit illo die, aliquem cui nec dare quidquam
posset, nec eripere. *Senec. de*
Benef. l. 5. c. 6.

Another time seeing the judges carrying a man to be punished for stealing a little vial out of the public treasury : *See*, said he, *the great thieves have caught a little one !*

The relations of a young man, whom they brought to him to be his disciple, said all the good things of him imaginable : that he was prudent, of good morals, and knew a great deal. Diogenes heard them very calmly : *As he is so accomplished*, said he, *he has no occasion for me.*

De nat.
deor. l. 3.
n. 83.

He was accused of speaking and thinking ill of the divinity. He said that the uninterrupted good fortune of Harpalus, who generally passed for a thief and a robber, was a testimony against the gods.

Amongst excellent maxims of morality, he held some very pernicious opinions. He regarded chastity and modesty as weakness, and was not afraid to act openly with an impudence contrary to all sense of decency and natural shame. And indeed the character of the Cynics was to overdo every thing in respect to manners, and to render virtue itself hateful if possible, by the excesses and inconsistencies to which they carried it.

Infani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra, quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.
Hor. Ep. 6. l. 1.

*More than enough, in virtue's self is bad ;
Just's then unjust ; the wiseman grows the mad.*

Diog.
Laert.

His historian gives him most persuasive eloquence, of which he relates wonderful effects. Onesicritus had sent one of his sons to Athens. That young man having heard some of Diogenes's lectures, settled in that city. His elder brother soon after did the same. Onesicritus himself having had the curiosity to hear that philosopher, became his disciple, such attractions had the eloquence of

of Diogenes. This Onesicritus was a person of importance. He was in great favour with Alex-^{Plut. in}ander, followed him in his wars, in which he had ^{Alex. p.} employments of distinction, and composed an ^{701.} history, that contained the beginning of Alexander's life. Phocion, still more illustrious than him, was also the disciple of Diogenes, as was Stilpon of Mægara.

Diogenes in going to the island of Egina was taken by pirates, who carried him to Crete, where they exposed him to sale. When he was asked by ^{Diog.} the cryer, *What he could do?* he answered, *Command* ^{Laert.} *men*, and bade him say, *Will any body buy a master?* A Corinthian called Xeniadès bought him, and carried him to Corinth, where he made him preceptor to his sons. He confided also the whole care of his house to him. Diogenes acquitted himself so well of those employments, that Xeniadès was incessantly saying every where, *A good genius has taken up his abode in my house.* The friends of Diogenes would have ransomed him: *No*, said he, *that's foolish.* *Lions are not the slaves of those that feed them, but those that feed them their servants.* He educated the children of Xeniadès very well, and acquired their affection to a great degree. He grew old in this house, and some say he died there.

He ordered at his death that his body should be ^{Tusc.} left upon the earth without interment. “How!” ^{Quæst.} said his friends, would you lie exposed to the ^{l. i. n. 104.} birds and beasts? No, replied he, put my stick by me, that I may drive them away. And how will you do that, said they, when you have no sense? What then does it signify, answered the Cynic, whether I am eaten or not by the birds and beasts, as I shall have no sense of it?”

No regard was had to the great indifference of Diogenes about interment. He was buried magnificently near the gate next the Isthmus. A column was erected near his tomb, on which a dog of Parian marble was placed.

He died at almost fourscore and ten years of age, according to some upon the same day as Alexander, but others make him survive that prince some years.

C R A T E S.

Diog. La-
ert.

*Two hun-
dred thou-
sand
crowns.*

C R A T E S the cynic was one of the principal disciples of Diogenes. He was a Theban of a very considerable family, and of great fortune. He sold his whole patrimony for more than two hundred talents, which he put into the hands of a banker, and desired him to give them to his children in case they proved fools; but if they had elevation of mind enough to be philosophers, he directed him to distribute the money amongst the citizens of Thebes, because philosophers wanted nothing: always excess and caprice even in actions laudable in themselves.

Hipparchia, the sister of the orator Metrocles, charmed with the freedom of Crates's manners, was absolutely determined to marry him, notwithstanding the opposition of all her relations. Crates, to whom they applied themselves, did all he could on his side to make her disgust this marriage. Having stripped himself before her to shew her his hunch-back and ill-made body in the worst light, and throwing his cloak, bag, and staff, upon the ground; *There, says he, are all my riches, and my wife must expect no other jointure from me.* She persisted in her resolution, married hunch-back, dressed herself like a cynic, and became still more free and impudent than her husband.

Impudence

* Impudence was the prevailing character of these philosophers. They reproached others with their faults without any reserve, and even added an air of insolence and contempt to their reproaches. This, according to some, occasioned their being called Cynics, because they were biting, and barked at all the world like dogs; and because they were ashamed of nothing, and held that every thing might be done openly without shame or reserve.

Crates flourished at Thebes about the CXIIIth A. M. Olympiad, and excelled all the Cynics of his time.³⁶⁷⁶ He was the master of Zeno, the founder of the famous sect of the Stoics.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Stoics.

ZENO.

ZENO was of Citium in the island of Cy-Diog. La-
prus. On his return from buying purple in Phœnicia, for he applied himself first to commerce, he was cast away in the port of Pyræus. He was much afflicted with his loss, and removed to Athens, where he went into a bookseller's shop, and took up a book of Xenophon's, the reading of which gave him infinite pleasure, and made him forget his misfortune. He asked the bookseller, where that sort of people, of whom Xenophon spoke, were to be found. Crates the Cynic happened to pass by at that instant. The bookseller pointed him out to Zeno, and advised him to follow him. From that day he commenced his disciple; at which time he was thirty years of age. The mo-A. M.
rality of the Cynics highly pleased him, but he³⁶⁷² could not relish their immodesty and impudence.

* They called immodesty, nature; and so it is, the nature of brutes, not man, whose Reason makes him naturally ashamed of the obscene and indecent.

After

A. M.
3692.

After having studied ten years under Crates, and passed ten more in the houses of Stilpon of Megara, Xenocrates, and Polemon, he instituted a new sect at Athens. His reputation immediately spread throughout Greece. In a short time he became the most distinguished philosopher in the country. As he usually taught in a porch, his followers were called *Stoics*, from the Greek word *στοα*, which signifies a porch or portico.

Laert.

A. M.
3743.

Zeno lived to the age of ninety-eight, without ever experiencing any disorder of body. He taught forty-eight years successively, and lived sixty-eight from his first applying to philosophy under Crates the Cynic. Eusebius dates his death at the CXXIXth Olympiad, which was much regretted. When Antigonus king of Macedonia received news of it, he was sensibly afflicted. The Athenians caused a tomb to be erected for him in the suburb of Ceramica, and by a public decree, (wherein he was praised as a philosopher who had perpetually excited the youth under his discipline to virtue, and who had always led a life conformable to the precepts he taught) they gave him a crown of gold, and caused extraordinary honours to be paid to his memory: “ In order, says the “ decree, that all the world may know, that the “ Athenians are studious to honour persons of distinguished merit, both during their lives and “ after their deaths.” Nothing does a people more honour than such noble and generous sentiments, which arise from an high esteem for knowledge and virtue.

I have already observed elsewhere that a neighbouring nation, I mean England, distinguishes itself by its esteem for great men of this kind, and by the gratitude it expresses for those who have exalted the glory of their country.

LEUCIPPUS.

LEUCIPPUS.

LEUCIPPUS is one of the most famous of Zeno's disciples. Authors do not agree about the place of his birth. He is believed the inventor of the atomical system. Posidonius ascribes it to one Strab. l. 16. Moschus of Phœnicia, who, according to Strabo, P. 557. lived before the Trojan war : but the most learned persons give Leucippus the honour of it. Epicurus is blamed for not owning his improvement Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. n. 72, 73. from the inventions of this philosopher, and reproached with having only reformed the system of Democritus in some places, of which Leucippus was the first author.

CLEANTHES.

CLEANTHES was of Assos in Troas. He was Laert. worth but four drachmas, that is to say, thirty pence, when he came to Athens. He recommended himself highly by the courageous patience, with which he supported the hardest and most painful labours. He passed almost the whole night in drawing water for a gardiner, in order to gain subsistence, and to enable himself during the day to apply to the study of philosophy. Being cited before the judges of the Areopagus, to give an account, according to one of Solon's laws, how he lived, he produced the gardiner as an evidence, and without doubt his own hands, hard and callous with labour. The judges, in a transport of admiration, ordered him ten minæ, about thirty pounds, out of the public treasury. Zeno forbade him to accept of them, so much was poverty in honour with these philosophers ! He filled the chair of the Porch with great reputation.

His genius was naturally heavy and slow ; but he overcame that defect by tenacious application to study. Eloquence was not his talent.

He

* He however thought fit to compose a Rhetoric, as well as Chrysippus, of whom we shall soon speak; but both with such bad success, that, if we may believe Cicero, who certainly was a good judge in this case, those works were fitter to make a man mute than a speaker.

CHRYSIPPUS.

Laert.

CHRYSIPPUS was of Soli a city of Cilicia. His genius was very subtle, and proper for logical disputations, in which he exercised himself much, and upon which he wrote many tracts. Diogenes Laertius makes them amount to above three hundred. It is said that the occasion of his writing abundance, was his envy of Epicurus, who had composed more books than any other philosopher: but he never came up to that rival. His works were little laboured, and by necessary consequence little correct, full of tedious repetitions, and often even contradictions. It was the common fault of the Stoics, to introduce abundance of subtilty and dryness into their disputations either by word of mouth or in writing. They seem as carefully to have avoided all beauty of style, as depravity of morals. ** Cicero did not blame them much for wanting a talent entirely foreign to their profession, and not absolutely necessary to it. † *If a philosopher, says he, have eloquence, I do not like him the worse for it: if not, I make it no crime in*

* Scripsit artem rhetoricam Cleanthes, Chrysippus etiam, sed hic, ut, si quis obmutescere concupierit, nihil aliud legere debeat. *De Finib. l. 4.*

n 7.

** Videmus iisdem de rebus jejune quosdam & exiliter, ut eum, quem acutissimum ferunt, Chrysippum disputavisse; ne-

que ob eam rem philosophiæ non satisfecisse, quod non habuerunt hanc dicendi ex arte alienam facultatem. *De Orat. l. 1. n. 49.*

† A philosopho, si afferat eloquentiam, non asperner: si non habeat, non admodum flagitem. *De Finib. l. 1. n. 15.*

him.

him. || He was satisfied if they were clear and intelligible ; for which he valued Epicurus.

Quintilian often cites with praise a work wrote by Chrysippus upon the education of children.

He associated himself for some time with the *Academ.* Academics, maintaining after their manner both *l. 4. n. 7.* sides of a question. The Stoics complained, that Chrysippus had collected so many and so strong arguments for the system of the Academics, that he could not afterwards refute them himself, which had supplied Carneades their antagonist with arms against them.

His doctrine, in many points, did no honour *Plut. contra Stoic.* to his sect, and could only disgrace it. He be- *P. 1074,* lieved the gods perishable, and maintained that *1075.* they would actually perish in the general con- *Laert.* flagration. He allowed the most notorious and most abominable incests ; and admitted the community of wives amongst Sages. He composed several writings full of the most horrid obscenities. Such was the * philosopher, who passed for the most solid support of the Porch, that is to say, of the most severe sect of the Pagan world.

It must appear astonishing after this, that † Seneca should praise this philosopher, whom he joins with Zeno, in the most magnificent terms. He goes so far as to say of both the one and the other, that they had done greater things in their closets, than if they had commanded armies, filled the first offices of a state, and instituted wise laws ; and he adds, that he considers them, not as the legislators of a single city, but of all mankind.

|| Oratio me istius philosophi non offendit. Nam & complectitur verbis quod vult, & dicit planè quod intelligam. *Ibid.*

* Fulcire putatur porticum Stoicorum. *Academ. 4, 75.*

† Nos certè sumus, qui di-

cimus, & Zenonem & Chrysippum majora egisse, quàm si duxissent exercitus, gessissent honores, leges tulissent, quas, non uni civitati, sed toti humano generi tulerunt. *Senec. de Ot. sap. c. 32.*

Chrysippus

A. M.

3793.

Chrysippus died in the CXLIII^d Olympiad. A tomb was erected for him amongst those of the most illustrious Athenians. His statue was to be seen in the suburb of Ceramica.

DIOGENES *the Babylonian.*

DIOGENES the Babylonian was so called, because his country, Seleucia, was in the neighbourhood of Babylon. He was one of the three philosophers deputed by Athens to the Romans.

He shewed great moderation and tranquillity of soul upon an occasion capable of moving the calmest and most patient of men. * He was expatiating upon anger. A young man of great impudence and presumption spit in his face, probably to try whether he practised himself the doctrine he taught others. The philosopher, without seeming moved, or raising his voice, said coldly; *I am not angry: but however I doubt whether I ought not to be so.* Did such a doubt suit the apathy of a Stoic?

ANTIPATER.

ANTIPATER was of Sidon. He is often mentioned in the fourth book of Academical Questions as one of the most learned and esteemed of the Stoics. He was the disciple of Diogenes the Babylonian, and Posidonius was his.

PANÆTIUS.

PANÆTIUS was, without contradiction, one of the most famous philosophers of the Stoic sect. He was a Rhodian, and his ancestors had commanded the armies of that state. We may date his birth about the middle of the CXLVIIIth Olympiad.

Strab l. 14.

P 655.

A. M.

3814.

* Ei de ira cùm maximè differenti adolescens protervus inspuat. Tulit hoc ille leniter ac sapienter. Non quidem,

inquit, irascor: sed dubito tamen an irasci oporteat. *Senec. de ira, l. 3. c. 38.*

He

He perfectly answered the peculiar care that had been taken of his education, and devoted himself wholly to the study of philosophy. Inclination, perhaps prejudice, determined him in favour of the Stoic sect, at that time in the highest credit. Antipater of Tarsus was his master. He heard Divin. 1. 1. him as a man that understood the Rights of reason; n. 6. and notwithstanding the blind deference, with which the Stoics received the decisions of the founders of the Porch, Panætius abandoned those without scruple, which did not appear sufficiently established.

To satisfy the desire of knowledge, that was his darling passion, he quitted Rhodes, without regard to the advantages for which the greatness of his birth seemed to design him. The most distinguished persons in every kind of literature usually assembled at Athens, and the Stoics had a famous school there. Panætius frequented it with assiduity, and at length supported its reputation with dignity. The Athenians resolved to make him their own, Plut. de Stoic. repugn. p. 1634. Procl. in Hætiad. p. 151. and offered him the freedom of their city; for which he returned them his thanks. "A modest man, said he to them in respect to Proclus, ought to content himself with one country:" in which he imitated Zeno, who, lest it might be injurious to his own citizens, would not accept the same favour.

The fame of Panætius soon extended itself beyond the seas. The sciences had for some time made considerable progress at Rome. The Great cultivated them in emulation of each other, and those whom their birth or capacity had placed at the head of the public affairs, made it their honour to protect them to the utmost. Such was the state of things when Panætius came to Rome. He was ardently desired there. The young nobility flew to hear him; and the Scipios and the Lælii were of the number of his disciples. A tender friend-

Plut. in
Moral.
p. 814.

ship united them from thenceforth, and Panætius, as many writers inform us, attended Scipio in his several expeditions. To make him amends, that illustrious Roman, on a signal occasion, gave him the most grateful marks of his confidence. * Panætius was the only one upon whom he cast his eyes, when the senate appointed him ambassador to the nations and kings of the East in alliance with the commonwealth. The credit of Panætius with Scipio was not useless to the Rhodians, and was often employed for them with success.

Tom. X.
des Mem.
de l'Acad.
des Belles
Lettres.

The year of his death is not precisely known. Cicero tells us, that Panætius lived thirty years after having published his treatise upon the duties of man, which Cicero has diffused into his : but it is not known at what time that treatise appeared. It is probable that he published it in the flower of his age. The value Cicero set on it, and the use he made of it, are good proofs of the excellency of this work, of which we therefore should regret the loss. He composed abundance of others. The reader may see an account of them in the memoir of the Abbé Sevin upon the life of Panætius, from which I have extracted all I have said of them in this place.

To the praise of the Stoics it must be confessed, that less intent than other philosophers upon frivolous and often dangerous speculations, they devoted their studies to the clearing up of those great principles of morality, which are the firmest supports of society : † but the driness and stiffness that

* P. Africani historiæ loquuntur, in legatione illa nobili quam obiit, Panætium unum omnino comitem fuisse. *Acad. Quæst.* l. 4. n. 5.

† Stoici horridiores evadunt, asperiores, duriores & oratione & moribus, Quam illorum

tristitiam atque asperitatem sugiens Panætius, nec acerbiter sententiarum, nec discerendi spinas probavit: fuitque in altero genere minor, in altero illustrior. *De Finib.* l. 4. n. 78, 79.

prevailed

prevailed in their writings, as well as in their manners, disgusted most of their readers, and abundantly lessened their utility. The example of Cleanthes and Chrysippus, the founders of the Porch, did not mislead Panætius. Attentive to the good of the public, and that the useful generally is not current without the agreeable, he united the solidity of argument with the beauty and elegance of style, and diffused into his works all the graces and ornaments of which they were susceptible.

POSIDONIUS.

POSIDONIUS was of Apamea in Syria, but he passed the greatest part of his life at Rhodes, where he taught philosophy with much reputation, and was employed in the affairs of the public with the same success.

Pompey, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, touched at Rhodes in order to see him. He found him sick. We shall see in the sequel, in what manner this visit passed.

EPICTETUS.

I should injure the sect of the Stoics, if in the number of its followers I omitted Epictetus, the man perhaps of all these philosophers, who did it most honour by the sublimity of his sentiments, and the regularity of his life.

Epictetus was born at Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia near Laodicea. The meanness of his extraction has prevented us from the knowledge of his parents. He was the slave of one Epaphroditus, whom Suidas calls *one of Nero's guards*; from whence he took his name Epictetus, which signifies *bought servant* or *slave*. It is neither said by ἐπίκτητος what accident he was brought to Rome, nor how he came to be sold to Epaphroditus: it is only known that he was the latter's slave. Epictetus was apparently made free. He always was a fol-

lower of the Stoic philosophy, which was at that time the most perfect and the most severe sect.

A. D. 96. He lived at Rome till the edict of Domitian, by which all philosophers were banished from thence. * If we may believe Quintilian, many of them concealed great vices under so fair a name, and had acquired the reputation of philosophers, not by their virtue and knowledge, but by a grave and severe countenance, and a singularity of dress and behaviour, which served as a mask for very corrupt manners. Quintilian is perhaps a little excessive in this description, with the view of pleasing the Emperor : but it is certain, that it could in no manner be applied to Epictetus.

Upon quitting Rome, he went to settle at Nicopolis, a considerable city of Epirus, where he lived many years, always in great poverty, but highly honoured and esteemed. He returned afterwards to Rome in the reign of Adrian, with whom he was in great consideration. Neither the time, place, nor any other circumstances of his death are mentioned : he died at a sufficiently great age.

He confined all his philosophy to suffering ills patiently, and moderation in pleasure, which he expressed by the two Greek words, ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι, *sustine & abstine*.

Orig. in Cels. l. 7. Celsus, who wrote against the Christians, says, that upon his master's bending his leg with great violence, he told him without emotion, and in a laughing manner : *Why you'll break my leg*. And as it happened so, he continued in the same tone : *Did not I tell you, that you'd break it ?*

Lucian ridicules a man, who bought Epictetus's

Lucian.
advers.
indoct.
p. 548.

* Nostris temporibus sub hoc nomine maxima in plerisque vitia latuerunt. Non enim virtute ac studiis, ut haberentur philosophi, laborabant ; sed

vultum, & tristitiam, & dissentientem à cæteris habitum pessimis moribus prætendebant. *Quintil. l. 1. in Proæm.*

lamp at a great † price, though only an earthen one; as if he had imagined that by using it he should become as wise as that admirable and venerable old man.

Epictetus had composed many works, of which only his *Enchiridion* or *Manual* remain. But Arrian, his disciple, has wrote a great work, which as he pretends, consists solely of what he had heard him say, and which he had collected as near as possible, in his own terms. Of the eight books which formed this work, we have only four.

Stobæus has preserved us some sentences of this philosopher's, which had escaped the diligence of his disciple. I shall cite only two of them in this place.

“ To be rich does not depend on thee, but to
 “ be happy does. Riches themselves are not al-
 “ ways a good, and certainly are always of short
 “ duration; but the happiness derived from wis-
 “ dom, endures for ever.

“ When thou seest a viper or a serpent in a box
 “ of gold, dost thou esteem it the more, and hast
 “ thou not always the same horror for it on ac-
 “ count of its venomous nature? Have the same
 “ for the wicked man, when thou seest him sur-
 “ rounded with splendor and riches.

“ The sun does not stay to be implored to im-
 “ part his light and heat. By his example do all
 “ the good thou canst, without staying till it be
 “ asked of thee.

The following prayer Epictetus desired to make at his death, which I take from Arrian. “ O
 “ Lord, have I violated your commandments?
 “ Have I abused the gifts you have conferred up-
 “ on me? Have I not submitted my senses,
 “ wishes, and opinions, to you? Have I ever
 “ complained of you? Have I accused your pro-
 “ vidence? I have been sick, because it was your

† Three thousand drachmas, about 75 l.

“ will ; and it was also mine. It was your will
 “ that I should be poor, and I was contented with
 “ poverty. I have been of the meanest of the
 “ people, because it was your will ; and did I
 “ ever desire to be otherwise ? Was I ever afflicted
 “ for my condition ? Have you ever surprized
 “ me murmuring and dejected ? I am still entirely
 “ ready to undergo whatever you shall please to or-
 “ dain for me. The least sign from you is an in-
 “ violable order for me. It is your will that I
 “ should quit this magnificent scene : I go, with
 “ a thousand most humble thanks, that you have
 “ vouchsafed to admit me to see your works, and
 “ to display to my eyes the admirable order, with
 “ which you govern this universe.” Though it
 be easy to observe in this prayer several strokes
 borrowed from Christianity, which at that time be-
 gan to cast a great light, we however perceive in
 it a man well satisfied with himself, and who, by
 his frequent interrogations, seems to defy the Di-
 vinity himself to find any fault in him. A senti-
 ment and prayer truly worthy of a Stoic, all proud
 of his pretended virtue ! St. Paul, who abounded
 so much in good works, did not speak such lan-
 guage. *I judge not mine own self*, said he. *For I*
know nothing by myself, (or as the French expresses it
 better, *though my conscience reproaches me with no-*
thing) *yet am I not hereby justified : but he that*
judgeth me is the Lord. For the rest this prayer,
 all defective as it is, will condemn abundance of
 Christians. For it shews us, that a perfect
 obedience, an entire devotion, and total resig-
 nation to the will of God, were considered by
 the pagans themselves, as the indispensable du-
 ties of creatures to him from whom they hold
 their being. This philosopher knew the terms of
 duties and virtues ; but had the misfortune to be
 ignorant of the principle of them,

1 Cor. iv.
 3. 4.

Epictetus was at Rome at the time when St. Paul made so many conversions there, and when Christianity almost at its birth shone out with so much lustre in the unexampled constancy of the Faithful. But far from improving from so radiant a light, he blasphemed against the faith of the primitive Christians, and the heroic courage of the martyrs. In the fourth chapter of the seventh book of Arrian, after having shewn, that a man conscious of his liberty, and convinced that nothing can hurt him, because he has God for his deliverer, fears neither the guards nor swords of tyrants, Epictetus adds: *PHRENZY AND CUSTOM have been capable of inducing some to despise them, as the * Galileans; and shall not reason and demonstration produce the same effect?* Nothing was more contrary to the doctrine of the gospel than the pride of the Stoics.

CHAPTER III.

History of the philosophers of the Italic sect.

I Have already said, that the Italic sect was so called, because it was instituted by Pythagoras in that part of Italy called Græcia Magna.

I shall divide this chapter into two articles. In the first I shall relate the life of Pythagoras, and that of Empedocles the most famous of his disciples. In the second I shall treat the division of the Italic into four other sects.

ARTICLE I.

PYTHAGORAS.

THE most common opinion is that Pythagoras was of Samos, and son of Mnesarchus the sculptor. He was at first the disciple of Phe- Diog. Laert.

* So the Christians were called.

recides, who is ranked in the number of the seven sages. After the death of his master, as he had an extraordinary desire of learning and of knowing the manners of strangers, he abandoned his country, and all he had, for the sake of travelling.

A. M.
3440.
Ant. J. C.
564.

He remained a considerable time in Egypt, to converse there with the priests, and to learn from them whatever was most occult in the mysteries of their religion and learning. Polycrates wrote in his favour to Amasis king of Egypt, in order that he might treat him with distinction. Pythagoras went afterwards into the country of the Chaldeans, to acquire the learning of the Magi. Some imagine that he might have seen Ezekiel and Daniel, and have improved from their lessons at Babylon. After having travelled into different parts of the East, he went to Crete, where he contracted a great intimacy with the wise Epimenides. And at last, after having enriched himself with different knowledge in the several countries where he had been, he returned to Samos, laden with the precious spoils which had been the motives, and were the fruits of his travels.

His grief to see his country oppressed by the tyranny of Polycrates, made him resolve on voluntary banishment. He went into that part of Italy which was called Great Greece, and settled at Crotona in the house of Milo, the famous boxer, where he taught philosophy. It is from thence that the Sect of which he was author, was called the Italic sect.

Tusc.
Quæst.
l. 5. n. 9.

Before him, as I have observed already, those who excelled in the knowledge of nature, and had acquired reputation by a virtuous and regular life, were called sages, σοφοί. That name appearing too proud to him, he assumed another, which implied, that he did not ascribe the possession of wisdom to himself, but only the desire of possessing it. This was *Philosopher*, that is to say, lover of wisdom.

The

The reputation of Pythagoras soon spread over all Italy, and brought a great number of disciples to hear him. Some make Numa of this number, who was elected king of Rome : but they mistake. Pythagoras flourished in the time of Tarquin the last king of the Romans, that is in the 220th year of Rome ; or, according to Livy, in the reign of Servius Tullius. The * error of those who make him king Numa's cotemporary is glorious for them both. For they had not fallen into it, if they had not believed that Numa could not have shewn so much ability and wisdom in his government, if he had not been the disciple of Pythagoras. Certain it is that his reputation afterwards became very great at Rome. The Romans must have conceived a very high idea of him, as upon being commanded by an oracle during the war with the Samnites to erect two statues, the one to the bravest, and the other to the wisest, of the Greeks, they set up those of Alcibiades and Pythagoras. Pliny was much surprized that they chose either of them.

He made his scholars undergo a severe noviciate of silence for at least two years : and † extended it to five with those in whom he discerned a too great itch for talking.

His disciples were divided into two classes. The one were simple hearers, hearkening to and receiving what was taught them, without demanding the reasons of it, of which it was supposed they were not yet capable. The others, as more formed and intelligent, were admitted to propose their difficulties, to penetrate deeper into the principles of philosophy, and to learn the reasons of all that was taught them.

* Ovid has followed this false tradition in the fifteenth book of the *Metamorphoses*.

† Loquaciores enimvero ser-

mè in quinquennium, velut in exilium vocis, mittebantur. *Apul. in Florid.*

Pythagoras considered geometry and arithmetic, as absolutely necessary to enlarge the minds of young people, and to prepare them for the study of great truths. He also set great value upon, and made great use of, music, to which he referred every thing ; * pretending that the world was formed by a kind of harmony imitated afterwards by the lyre ; and he annexed peculiar sounds to the motion of the celestial spheres which revolve over our heads. It is said that it was the † custom of the Pythagoreans on rising from bed, to awaken the mind with the sound of the lyre, in order to make themselves more fit for action : and before going to bed, they resumed their lyre, which no doubt they touched to a softer strain, in order to prepare themselves for sleep, by calming whatever might remain of the tumultuous thoughts of the day.

Plut. de
adul. &
amic. discr.
p. 70.

Pythagoras had a great ascendant over the minds of his scholars. His having advanced any thing sufficed for them to be convinced of it without farther proof : from whence came the famous saying *αὐτὸς ἔφα, ipse dixit, he (the master) has said it.* A reprimand which he gave one of his scholars in the presence of all the rest, so sensibly affected him, that he could not survive it, and killed himself. From thenceforth Pythagoras, instructed and infinitely afflicted by so mournful an example, never rebuked any body except in private.

Justin.

l. 20. c. 4. His doctrine, and still more his example, produced a wonderful change in Italy, and especially

* Pythagoras atque cum secuti, acceptam sine dubio antiquitatis opinionem vulgaverunt, mundum ipsum ea ratione esse compositum, quam postea fit lyra imitata. Nec illa modò contenti dissimilium concordia, quam vocant *ἁρμονίαν*, sonum quoque his motibus dederunt. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 10.

† Pythagoreis certè moris fuit, & cum evigilassent, animos ad lyram excitare, quo essent ad agendum erectiores ; & cum somnum peterent, ad eandem priùs lenire mentem, ut, si quid fuisset turbidiorum cogitationum, componerent. *Quintil.* l. 9. c. 4.

at Crotona, where he principally resided. Justin describes at large the reformation, which he introduced into that city. “ He came, says he, to Crotona, and having found the inhabitants in general abandoned to luxury and debauch, he conciliated them at length by his authority to the rules of a prudent frugality. He continually praised virtue, and inculcated its beauty and advantages. He represented in the most lively terms the shame of intemperance, and enumerated the states which had been ruined in consequence of vicious excesses. His discourse made such an impression on the people, and occasioned so general a change in the city, that it seemed a quite different place, and retained no marks of the antient Crotona. He spoke to the women separately from the men, and the children from their fathers and mothers. To the wives he recommended the virtues of their sex, chastity, and submission to their husbands; to the youth, profound respect for their fathers and mothers, and a taste for study and the sciences. * He insisted principally upon frugality the mother of all virtues; and prevailed upon the ladies to renounce the fine cloaths, and rich ornaments, which they thought essential to their rank, but which he considered as the food of luxury and vice. These they sacrificed to the principal divinity of the place, which was Juno; shewing by so generous a conduct they were entirely convinced, that the true ornament of ladies was unspotted virtue, and not magnificence

* Inter hæc, velut genetrixem virtutum frugalitatem omnibus ingerebat, consecutusque disputationum assiduitate erat, ut matronæ auratas vestes, cæteraque dignitatis suæ ornamenta, velut instrumenta lux-

uriæ, deponerent, eaque omnia delata in Junonis ædem ipsi deæ consecrarent; præ se ferentes, vera ornamenta matronarum pudicitiam, non vestes, esse. *Justin.* l. 20. c. 4.

“ of dress. The reformation which the warm exhortations of Pythagoras produced amongst the youth, may be judged, adds the historian, from their success with the ladies, who generally adhere to their ornaments and jewels with almost invincible passion. *In juventute quoque quantum profligatum sit, victi feminarum contumaces animi manifestant.*”

This last reflection, which naturally enough expresses the character of the ladies, is not made only by Justin. St. Jerom also observes, * *that the sex are naturally fond of ornaments.* “ We know ladies, says he, of distinguished chastity, who love to adorn their persons, not for the sake of pleasing any man, but to please themselves.” And he adds elsewhere, that some of them carry that taste to an excess which knows no bounds, and will hearken to no reason: *Ad quæ ardent & insaniunt studia matronarum.*

The zeal of Pythagoras was not confined to his school, and the instruction of private persons, but even penetrated into the palaces of the great. That philosopher knew, that to inspire princes and magistrates with the principles of honour, probity, justice, and love of public good, was labouring for the happiness and reformation of whole nations. † He had the glory of forming disciples, who proved excellent legislators: Zaleucus, Charondas, and many others, whose wise laws were so useful to Sicily, and that part of Italy called Great Greece, and who have a juster title to the highest praises, than those famed conquerors, who have

Hieron.
Ep ad
Demetr.

* *Φιλόκοσμον* genus scæmineum est: multasque etiam insignis pudicitiae, quamvis nulli virorum, tamen sibi scimus libenter ornari. *Hieron. Epist. ad Gaudent.*

† Zaleuci leges Charondæ-

que laudantur. Hi, non in foro, nec in consultorum atrio, sed in Pythagoræ tacito illo sanctoque secessu didicerunt jura, quæ florenti tunc Siciliae & per Italiam Græciæ ponerent. *Senec. Epist. 90.*

made themselves known to the world only by ravages, fire and sword.

He took great pains to put an end to wars in Italy, and to calm the intestine factions which disturbed the tranquillity of states. War, said he, should be made only against these five things : diseases of the body, ignorance of the mind, passions of the heart, seditions of cities, and discord of families. These five enemies he is for combating with the utmost ardor and perseverance.

The inhabitants of Crotona thought proper, Val. Max. l. 8. c. 15. that their senate, which consisted of a thousand persons, should act in all things by the advice of so great a man, and determine nothing but in concert with him ; such credit had his prudence and zeal for the public good acquired him.

Crotona was not the only city that had the benefit of his counsels : * many others experienced the good effects of this philosopher's studies. He went from one to another to diffuse his instructions with greater fruit and abundance, and he left behind him, in all places where he continued any time, the precious footsteps of his residence in the good order, discipline, and wise regulations which he established in them.

His maxims of morality were admirable, and he was for having the study of philosophy tend solely to the rendering men like God. Hierocles Hierocles in præf. ad carm. aurea. gives this praise to a piece of poetry, intitled, *Car-men aureum*, (golden verses) which contain this philosopher's maxims.

But his notions of the nature of God were very imperfect. † He believed that God is a soul diffused into all the beings of nature, and from which

* Plurimis & opulentissimis urbibus effectus suorum studiorum approbavit. *Val. l. 8.*

c. 7.

† Pythagoras censuit Deum

animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum & commeanstem, ex quo animi nostri caperentur. *1. de Nat. deor. n. 27.*

human souls are derived : an opinion which Virgil *, in the fourth book of the Georgics, has expressed in perfectly fine verses. Velleius, in Cicero, refutes this opinion in an agreeable but solid manner. “ If this were so, says he, God would
 “ be divided and torn to pieces, when these souls
 “ were taken from his substance. He would suffer,
 “ and a God is not capable of suffering, in a part
 “ of himself, whenever they suffer, as frequently
 “ happens. Besides which, how comes it that the
 “ mind of man should be ignorant of any thing,
 “ if it were God ?”

Laert.

The Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, was the principal maxim of Pythagoras’s philosophy. He had borrowed it either from the Egyptians, or the Brachmans, those antient sages of India. This opinion subsists still among the idolaters of India and China, and is the fundamental principle of their religion. According to it, Pythagoras believed, that the souls of men at their death passed into other bodies, and if they had been wicked, that they were confined in unclean and miserable beasts, to expiate the faults of their past lives ; and that after a certain revolution of years or ages, they returned to animate other men.

This philosopher boasted, in this respect, of a privilege entirely singular : for he said † he remembered in what bodies he had been before he

* *Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, & hauſtus
 Æthereos dixere. Deum namque ire per omnes
 Terrasque tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum.
 Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
 Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arceſſere vitas.*

† ————— Habentque
 Tartara Panthoïden iterum Orco
 Demissum ; quamvis clypeo Trojana reflexo
 Tempora testatus, nihil ultra
 Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atræ,
 Judice te non sordidus auctor
 Naturæ.

Hor. Od. 28. l. 1.

was Pythagoras. But he went no farther back than the siege of Troy. He had first been Æthalides, the supposed son of Mercury, and having had permission to ask whatever he pleased of that God, except immortality, he desired that he might remember all things even after death. Some time after he was Euphorbus, and received a mortal wound from Menelaus at the siege of Troy. His soul passed afterwards into Hermotimus, at which time he entered the temple of Apollo in the country of the Branchidæ, where he saw his buckler eaten up with rust, which Menelaus on his return from Troy had consecrated to that god in token of his victory. He was afterwards a fisherman of Delos, named Pyrrhus ; and lastly, Pythagoras.

He affirmed that in a voyage which he had made to hell, he had seen the soul of the poet Hesiod fastened with chains to a pillar of brass, and suffering great torments. That as for that of Homer, he had seen it hanging on a tree, surrounded with serpents, upon account of the many falsehoods he had invented and ascribed to the gods ; and that the souls of the husbands, who had lived amiss with their wives, were severely tormented in that region.

To give more weight and credit to these fabulous tales, he had made use of industry and artifice. Upon arriving in Italy, he shut himself up in a subterraneous place, after having desired his mother to keep an exact journal of all that should pass. When he had continued there as long as he judged proper, his mother, as they had agreed before, gave him her notes, wherein he found the dates and other circumstances of events. He quitted this place with a visage pale and wan. In an assembly of the people he assured them, that he was just returned from hell ; and to convince them of what he said, he began with relating all that had passed during his absence. All the hearers were

moved and surprized with that account, and nobody doubted but that there was something divine in Pythagoras. Fears and cries ensued on all sides. The people of Crotona conceived an extraordinary esteem for him, received his lessons with great eagerness, and begged of him that he would vouchsafe to instruct their wives also.

There must have been a very blind credulity or rather gross stupidity amongst the people, to have believed such wild chimæras, which often even contradicted themselves. For it does not seem very easy to reconcile the transmigration of souls into different bodies with the pains Pythagoras supposed, that the souls of the wicked suffered in hell; and still less with his doctrine upon the nature of souls. For, as the learned translator of Cicero's books upon the nature of the gods observes, the souls of men, and those of beasts, according to Pythagoras, are of the same substance; that is to say, a particle of that universal Soul, which is God himself. When therefore it is said, that the soul of Sardanapalus, as a punishment for his excesses, passes into the body of an hog, it is precisely the same thing as to say, God modifies himself into an hog, in order to punish himself for not having been wise and temperate, whilst he was modified in Sardanapalus.

Divinæ
particulam
auræ.
Horat.

Lactantius * has reason for treating Pythagoras as an old dotard, and for saying, he must have thought that he had talked to infants and not to men, to vent such absurd fables and old women's stories to them with a grave and serious air.

* Videlicet senex vanus (sicut otiosæ aniculæ solent) fabulas tanquam infantibus credulis finxit. Quod si bene sensisset de iis quibus hæc locutus est, si homines eos existi-

masset, nunquam sibi tam petulanter mentiendi licentiam vindicasset. Sed deridenda hominis levissimi vanitas. *Lactant. divin. Institut. l. 3. c. 18.*

Empedocles his disciple rose upon his master's ravings, and composed a genealogy of his soul still more extravagant and various; for according to Athenæus, he gave out, that he had been a girl, a boy, a shrub, a bird, and a fish, before he was Empedocles. Athen. l. 8. p. 365.

But how could so great a philosopher as Pythagoras, and one so valuable for abundance of excellent qualities, conceive so strange a system? How could he draw so great a number of followers after him, whilst he advanced opinions capable of shocking every man of common sense? How happens it, that whole nations, in other respects not void of knowledge, and civilized, have retained this doctrine down to our days?

It is most certain that Pythagoras, and all the antient philosophers, when they began to philosophize, found *the doctrine of the immortality of the soul generally received by all nations*; and it was upon that principle Pythagoras, as well as the rest, founded his system. But when the question was to fix what became of that soul after its brief office of animating an human body, Pythagoras, and all the philosophers with him, were at a loss and in confusion, without being able to resolve upon any thing capable of satisfying a rational mind. They could not reconcile themselves to the Elysian fields for the virtuous, nor Styx for the wicked, mere fictions of the poets. Those amusements for the souls of the blessed seemed very insipid to them; and could they be believed to exist without end, and to endure throughout all eternity? But the souls of those, who had done neither good nor hurt, as of infants, what became of them? What was to be their lot, their condition? What were they to do to all eternity?

To extricate themselves from this very difficult objection, some philosophers destined the souls of the wise and ingenious to the contemplation of

the course of the stars, the harmony of the spheres, the origin of winds, storms, and other meteors, as Seneca, and some other philosophers teach. But the generality of the world could have no part in the learned and speculative joys of this philosophical paradise. What occupation then were they to have throughout futurity? They perceived, that it did not consist with so wise a being as God, to create beings purely spiritual every day, only to animate bodies for some short space, and to have no other employment during the rest of eternal duration. Why create so many souls of infants, that die in their births, and at their mother's breasts, without ever being able to make the least use of their reason? Does it consist with the wisdom of God to produce so many thousands of new souls every day, and to continue creating them every day throughout all eternity, without either use or purpose? What is to be done with those infinite millions of useless inactive souls? What could be the end of forming those incessantly increasing numbers of spirits without either function or end?

These were unsurmountable difficulties to all the sects of the philosophers. In the impossibility of getting over them, some went so far as to doubt and even deny the immortality of the soul. Others, who could not resolve to renounce a maxim, which God has impressed too deeply on the heart of man for him to be able to disown it, found themselves reduced to make them pass from one body into another: and as they could not conceive eternal punishments, they believed that they sufficiently punished the wicked, in confining them within the bodies of beasts. And from thence they fell into all the absurdities, with which they are justly reproached. But the other Sects scarce defended themselves better from the absurdities, to which their different Systems gave birth.

But to return to Pythagoras. In necessary consequence of the Metempsychosis he concluded, and one of the capital points of his moral doctrine was, that man committed a great crime, when he killed and ate animals; because all animals, of whatsoever kind they are, being animated with the same soul, it was an horrid cruelty to cut the throat of another self. This is what Ovid, where he feigns ^{Metam.} that Pythagoras instructs king Numa in his maxims, wittily describes after his manner in these three verses:

*Heu ! quantum scelus est in viscera viscera condi,
Congestoque avidum pinguescere corpore corpus,
Alteriusque animantem animantis vivere letho.*

But, observes again with abundance of wit the translator already cited, what would Pythagoras have answered to a man who should have asked him conformably to his own principles: "What injury do I do a fowl in killing it? I only make it change its form, and it is much more likely to gain than lose by that change. Perhaps that soul immediately after quitting its body, will go to animate some embryo, who will one day be a great monarch or philosopher: and instead of seeing itself confined to a fowl, which uncharitable men leave in a yard to suffer the injuries of the weather, and a thousand other inconveniencies, it will find itself seated in an assemblage of corpuscles, that forming the body, sometimes of an Epicure, sometimes of a Cæsar, will glut itself with pleasures and honours."

The same philosopher forbade his disciples to eat beans; from whence Horace calls them the relations or allies of Pythagoras: *faba Pythagoræ* ^{Satyr. 6:} ^{l. 2.} *cognata*. Different reasons are given for this prohibition;

hibition ; amongst others, that * beans by the great wind they occasion, excite vapours very contrary to the tranquillity of soul necessary to those, who devote themselves to enquiring after truth.

I should never have done, if I undertook to relate circumstantially all the wonders ascribed to Pythagoras. If we may believe Porphyry, that declared enemy of Christianity, and Iamblichus his disciple, (for they are the worthy authorities for all these miracles) Pythagoras made even the beasts understand and obey him. He commanded a bear that made great ravages in Daunia to be gone, and it disappeared. He forbade an ox, after having whispered a word in his ear, to eat beans : and never more did he touch bean. It is affirmed that he had been seen and heard at the same time disputing in the public assemblies of two cities very remote from each other ; the one in Italy, and the other in Sicily. He foretold earthquakes, appeased tempests, expelled pestilence, and cured diseases. His golden thigh ought not to be omitted. He shewed it to his disciple Abaris, the priest of Apollo Hyperboreus, to prove to him that himself was that Apollo ; and he had also shewn it, says Iamblichus, in a public assembly at Crotona. What wonders does not the same Iamblichus relate of this Abaris ? Borne upon a dart as upon a Pegasus, he could pass a great way through the air in a short time, without being stopt or retarded in his course by rivers, seas, or places inaccessible to other men. Would one believe, that the miracles and cures ascribed to Pythagoras could be quoted on the testimony of such authors, as things of a real nature ? *Credat Judæus Apella.* People of sense, even amongst the pagans, openly laughed at them.

* Ex quo etiam Pythagorice interdiftum putatur, ne faba vescerentur ; quòd habet institutionem magnam is cibus, tran-

quillitati mentis quærentis vera contrariam. *Cic. l. 1. de Divinat. n. 62.*

It is time to make an end of his history. The circumstances of his death are very differently related, which I shall not enter into particularly. Justin observes, that he died at Metapontum, ^{Justin.} whither he had retired after having continued ^{l. 20. c. 4.} twenty years at Crotona ; and that the people's admiration of him rose so high, that they converted his house into a temple, and honoured him as a god. He lived to a very advanced age.

EMPEDOCLES.

EMPEDOCLES, a Pythagorean philosopher, A. M. was of Agrigentum a city of Sicily. He flourish- ^{3560.} ed in the LXXXIVth Olympiad. He travelled much, as was the custom of those times, in order to enrich his mind with curious knowledge. On his return into his country, he frequented the schools of the Pythagoreans. Some make him Pythagoras's disciple : but he is believed to have lived many years after him.

He applied himself not only to composing ^{Diog.} works, but reforming the manners of his country ; ^{Laert.} and Empedocles spared no pains to do at Agrigentum what Pythagoras had done at Crotona. The city of Agrigentum was abandoned to luxury and debauch. Its inhabitants, according to Diogenes Laertius, amounted to eight hundred thousand : which is to be understood of its territory as well as city. I have mentioned its power and riches elsewhere. Empedocles used to say that the people of Agrigentum abandoned themselves to feasting and pleasure, as if they believed they were to die to morrow ; and applied themselves in building, as if they thought they were never to die.

Nothing shews the luxury and effeminacy of ^{Diod.} the Agrigentines better, than the order given ^{l. 13. p. 205} those who were to defend the city in the night against the attacks of the Carthaginians. By this order each man was to have only one camel's skin,

one tent bed, one woollen quilt, and two pillows. The Agrigentines thought this discipline highly severe, and could not be brought into submitting to it without difficulty. Amongst these citizens abandoned to luxury, there were however persons of merit, who made a very good use of their riches, as I have shewn elsewhere.

Diog. La-
ert. The authority, which Empedocles had acquired at Agrigentum, he employed solely in making peace and good order take place as much as possible. The supreme command was offered him, which he tenaciously refused. His principal care was to put an end to the divisions that prevailed amongst the Agrigentines; and to persuade them to consider themselves as all equals, and members of one and the same family. His next attention was to reform the insolence of the principal persons of the city, and to prevent the dissipation of the public revenues. As to himself, he employed his own estate in marrying the young women that had no portions.

Diog. La-
ert. In order to establish equality as much as possible amongst the citizens of Agrigentum, he caused the Council, which consisted of a thousand persons chosen out of the richest citizens, to be abolished. He rendered it triennial, from perpetual as it was before; and prevailed that the people should be admitted into it, or at least such of them as favoured democratical government.

Diog. La-
ert. When Empedocles went to the Olympic games, nothing was talked of there but him. His praises were the common subject of all conversations. It was an antient custom to sing the verses of the great poets in public, as those of Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Phocylides, and others. The same honour was done to those of Empedocles. The singer Cleomenes sung his *Purifications* in the Olympic games. This was a moral poem of three

Athen. l.
14. p. 620.

Καθαρμοί.

three thousand hexameters, composed by our philosopher upon the duties of civil life, the worship of the gods, and the precepts of morality. It took its name from containing maxims, which taught the means for purifying and improving the soul. The *golden verses* are believed to have been part of this poem. Carmen aureum.

Empedocles was at the same time a philosopher, Idem. poet, historian, physician, and even according to some, magician. It is very probable that his magic was only the profound knowledge he had acquired in whatever was most abstruse in nature. The important service he had done the people of Agrigentum, in making certain periodical winds cease to blow, which by their pernicious nature did great damage to the fruits of the earth, was ascribed to magic : as was also that he did for the inhabitants of Selinontum, in curing them of a pestilence occasioned by the stench of the waters of a river that ran through their city. His magic as to the first was his having filled up an opening of a mountain, from whence issued the infected exhalations, which a south wind drove upon the territory of Agrigentum ; and as to the second, it was his having caused two small rivers to empty themselves into that of Selinontum, which sweetned the water, and removed its bad quality.

The most wonderful effect of Empedocles's magic, and which made him be considered as a god, was the pretended resurrection of an Agrigentine woman, named Panthea. Pliny speaks of it, as Laert. L. 6. c. 52. well as Origen. Hermippus, who contents himself with saying, that having been given over by L. 2. cont. Cels. the physicians, and probably taken for dead, she was cured by Empedocles, reduces that miracle to reality ; and Galen seems to give into the same De locis affect. l. 6. opinion.

Diog.
Laert.

It is said that Empedocles, * in order to confirm the world in the opinion they had conceived of his divinity by disappearing suddenly, threw himself into the gulph of mount Ætna. But this extravagance has much the air of being the invention of such as have pleased themselves either with throwing the Marvellous into the lives of these philosophers, or on the contrary, with rendering them ridiculous. Authors of greater gravity tell us, that he retired into Peloponnesus, where he died at the age of sixty, according to Aristotle, about the beginning of the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad.

A. M.
3576.

ARTICLE II.

Division of the Italic Sect into four sects.

THE Italic or Pythagorean sect divided itself into four others: that of Heraclitus, which took his name; the Eleatic, of which Democritus was the chief; the Sceptic, founded by Pyrrho; and the Epicurean, instituted by Epicurus.

SECT. I.

Sect of Heraclitus.

LITTLE is known of this philosopher. He was a native of Ephesus, and lived in the LIXth Olympiad. He is said to have had no masters, and to have become learned by continual meditation.

A. M.
3460.
Laert.

Amongst many treatises of his composing, that concerning nature, which included his whole philosophy, was the most esteemed. Darius king of Persia, son of Hytaspes, having seen this work, wrote a most obliging Letter to Heraclitus, to desire him to come to his court, where his virtue and

* ———— Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam
Insiluit.
Horat. de Art. Poët.
knowledge

knowledge would be more considered than in Greece. The philosopher, little affected with offers so gracious and so full of goodness, replied bluntly, That he saw nothing amongst men but injustice, knavery, avarice and ambition, and that contenting himself with little, as he did, the court of Persia suited ill with him. He was not in the wrong at bottom. It is not surprizing, that a Greek born free and an enemy to the pride of Barbarian kings, and the slavery and vices of courtiers, should set an high value upon poverty with independance, and esteem it infinitely more than the greatest fortunes he could expect from a monarch living in the midst of pomp, pride, effeminacy, and pleasures, in a nation devoted solely to luxury. He might indeed have expressed his refusal in more polite terms.

He was a true man-hater. Nothing satisfied him; every thing gave him offence. * Mankind were the objects of his pity. Seeing all the world abandoned themselves to a joy, of the falshood of which he was sensible, he never appeared in public without shedding tears, which occasioned his being called *the Weeper*. Democritus, on the contrary, who saw nothing serious in the most serious occupations of men, could not forbear laughing at them. The one could find nothing in life but misery, the other nothing but folly and trifle. Both in some sense were in the right.

Heraclitus disgusted and tired with every thing, at last conceived so great an aversion for mankind, that he retired to a mountain, where he lived upon

* Heraclitus quoties prodierat, & tantum circa se malè viventium, imo malè pereuntium viderat, flebat, miserebatur omnium, qui sibi læti felicesque occurrebant. Democritum contrà aiunt nunquam

sine risu in publico fuisse: adeo nihil illi videbatur ferium eorum, quæ seriò agebantur. *Senec. de Ira*, l. 2. c. 10.

Huic omnia, quæ agimus, miseræ; illi ineptiæ videbantur. *de Tranq. anim.* c. 15.

herbs in company with wild beasts. A dropsy, which that kind of life occasioned, obliged him to return to the city, where he died soon after.

S E C T. II.

Señ of Democritus.

Laert.

DEMOCRITUS, author of this sect, one of the greatest philosophers of the antient world, was of Abdera in Thrace. Xerxes, king of Persia, having lodged in the house of Democritus's father, left him some Magi, to be his son's preceptors, and to instruct him in their pretended Theology and Astronomy. He afterwards heard Leucippus, and learnt from him the system of Atoms and Void.

His extraordinary inclination for the sciences induced him to travel into all the countries of the world, where there was hopes of finding learned men. He visited the priests of Egypt, the Chaldeans, and the Persian philosophers. It is even said that he went as far as Ethiopia and India, to confer with the Gymnosophists.

He * neglected the care of his estate, and left his lands uncultivated, in order to apply himself with less interruption to the study of wisdom. Some go so far as to say, but with little probability, that he put out his eyes in hopes of meditating more profoundly, when the objects of sight should not divert the intellectual powers of his soul. It was in some measure blinding himself to shut himself up in a tomb, as it is said he did, in order to apply more freely to meditation.

* Democritus, verè falsòve, dicitur oculis se privasse, ut quàm minimè animus à cogitationibus abduceretur. Patri-

Miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos

Cultaque, dum peregrè est animus sine corpore velox.

Horat. Epist. 12. lib. 1.

What

monium neglexit, agros deseruit incultos, quid quaerens aliud, nisi beatam vitam? *De Finib. l. 5. n. 87.*

What seems most certain, is, that he expended his whole patrimony in his travels, which amounted to above an hundred talents (an hundred thousand crowns.) At his return he was cited before the judges, for having spent his estate in that manner. By the laws of his country, those who had squandered their patrimony, were not to be interred in the tombs of their family. He pleaded his cause himself, and produced, as a proof of the just use he had made of his fortune, the most finished of his works, which he read to the Judges. They were so charmed with it, that they not only acquitted him, but caused as much money as he had expended in his travels, undoubtedly out of the public treasury, to be repaid him, erected statues in honour of him, and decreed that after his death the public should charge itself with the care of his funeral: which was accordingly executed. He travelled as a great person, for the sake of instruction, not to enrich himself. He went to the remotest parts of India in quest of the riches of erudition, and scarce regarded the treasures which he found almost at his door, in a country abounding with mines of gold and gems.

He * passed some time at Athens, the centre of the sciences, and the abode of wit and learning. But far from endeavouring to display his merit and curious knowledge there, he affected to remain unknown: a circumstance very remarkable in a man of learning and a philosopher!

A fact singular enough is related concerning him, but with no other foundation than Hippocrates's letters, which the Learned believe spurious. The Abderites, seeing Democritus their countryman regard nothing, laugh at and ridicule every thing, say that the air was full of images, endeavour to

* Veni Athenas, inquit Democritus, neque me quisquam ibi agnovit. Constantem ho-

minem & gravem, qui gloriatur à gloria se abfuisse! *Tusc. Quæst.* l. 5. n. 104.

know what the birds said in their songs, and inhabit tombs almost perpetually, apprehended that his brain was turned, and that he would entirely run mad, which they considered as the greatest misfortune that could happen to their city. They therefore wrote to Hippocrates, to desire him to visit Democritus. The great concern they expressed for the health of so illustrious a citizen does them honour. The illustrious physician they had sent for, after some conversations with the supposed sick man, judged very differently of him, and dispelled their fears, by declaring that he had never known a wiser man, nor one more in his senses. Diogenes Laertius also mentions this journey of Hippocrates to Abdera.

A. M.
3584.

Nothing certain is said either of his birth, or the time of his death. Diodorus Siculus makes him die at the age of ninety, the first year of the XCth Olympiad.

Laert.

Democritus had a fine genius, with a vast, extensive, penetrating wit, which he applied to the whole circle of curious knowledge. Physics, ethics, mathematics, polite learning, liberal arts, all came within the sphere of his activity.

It is said, that having foreseen a certain year would prove bad for olives, he bought at a very low rate a great quantity of oil, by which he gained immensely. * Every body was amazed with reason, that a man who had never seemed to regard any thing but study, and who had always set so much value upon poverty, should on a sudden throw himself into commerce, and entertain thoughts of amassing such great riches. He soon

* *Mirantibus qui paupertatem & quietem doctrinarum ei sciebant imprimis cordi esse. Atque, ut apparuit causa, & ingens divitiarum cursus, restituisse mercedem (or rather mer-*

cem) anxietatis & avidae dominorum poenitentiae, contentum ita probasse, opes sibi in facili, cum vellet, fore. Plin. l. 18. c. 28.

explained the mystery himself, in restoring to all the merchants, of whom he had bought oil, and who were in despair on account of the bargain they had made with him, all the surplus he had acquired, contenting himself with shewing, that to become rich was at his own option. There is something of a like nature in the history of Thales.

Epicurus is obliged to Democritus for almost his whole system ; and to render † the elegant Latin expression, he is the source, from which the streams that water the gardens of Epicurus, flow. The latter was in the wrong, in not confessing his obligations to Democritus, and in treating him as a dreamer. We shall shew in the sequel his opinions concerning the supreme good of man, the world, and the nature of the gods.

It was Democritus also that supplied the Sceptics Laert. with all they said against the evidence of the senses. For besides its being his custom to say, that truth lay hid at the bottom of a well, he maintained that there was nothing real except atoms and vacuity, and that all else was only opinion and appearance.

Plato is said to have been the declared enemy of Democritus. He had collected all his books with care, and was going to throw them into the fire, when two Pythagorean philosophers represented, that doing so would signify nothing, because they were then in the hands of many. Plato's hatred for Democritus appears in his having never cited him, even in places where to refute him was the question, though he has mentioned almost all the rest of the antient philosophers.

† Democritus vir magnus curus hortulos suos irrigavit.
in primis, cujus fontibus Epi- *De nat. deer.* l. 1. n. 121.

S E C T III.

Sceptic or Pyrrhonic sect.

PYRRHO, a native of Elis in Peloponnesus, was the disciple of Anaxarchus, and accompanied him to India. It was undoubtedly in the train of Alexander the Great, from whence we may collect in what time he flourished. He had practised the art of painting, before he applied himself to philosophy.

His opinions differed little from those of Arcefilaus, and terminated in the incomprehensibility of all things. He found in all things, reasons for affirming, and reasons for denying : and therefore he did assent after having well examined both sides of a question, concluding only that hitherto he saw nothing clear and certain in it, *non liquet*, and that the subject in question required farther discussion. Accordingly he seemed during his whole life in quest of truth ; but he took care always to contrive subterfuges, to avoid consenting that he had found it : That is to say, in reality he would not find it ; and that he concealed so hideous a turn of mind under the specious outside of enquiry and examination.

Though he was not the inventor of this method of philosophizing, it however bears his name : the art of disputing upon all things, without ever going farther than to suspend one's judgment, is called *Pyrrhonism*. The disciples of Pyrrho were called also *Sceptics*, from a Greek word which signifies *to consider, to examine*, because their whole application terminated in that.

Laert.

Pyrrho's indifference is astonishing ; and if all Diogenes Laertius relates of it be true, it rose even to madness. That historian says, he did not prefer one thing to another ; that a waggon or a precipice did not oblige him to go a step out of his way ;

way ; and that his friends who followed him, often saved his life. However, he one day ran away from a dog that flew at him. When he was rallied upon a fear so contrary to his principles, and so unworthy of a philosopher : *It is hard*, replied he, *to divest one's self entirely of the man.* Aristocles apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 14. c. 18.

His master Anaxarchus having fallen into a ditch in his company, he walked on without so much as offering him his hand. Anaxarchus far from taking it amiss, blamed those who reproached Pyrrho with so inhuman a behaviour, and praised his disciple for his indifference of mind, which argued his loving nothing. What would become of society, and the commerce of life with such philosophers ? Laert.

Pyrrho maintained that life and death were equally indifferent. *Why don't you die then ?* somebody asked him. *For that very reason*, replied he, *because life and death are equally indifferent.* Stobæus, sermone 118.

He taught an abominable doctrine, that opens the way for crimes of every kind : That the honour and infamy, the justice and injustice of actions depended solely upon human laws and custom : in a word, that there was nothing honest or dishonest, just or unjust, in itself. Laert.

His country considered him highly, conferred the dignity of Pontiff upon him, and granted all philosophers an exemption from taxes upon his account : a very singular conduct in regard to a man, who merited only punishments, whilst they loaded him with honours. Laert.

S E C T IV.

Epicurean sect.

EPICURUS, one of the greatest philosophers of his age, was born at Gargettium in Attica, the third year of the CIXth Olympiad. His father Neocles, and his mother Cherestrata, Laert. A. M. 3663.

were of the number of the inhabitants of Attica sent by the Athenians into the island of Samos. This occasioned Epicurus's passing his infancy in that island.

Laert.

He did not return to Athens till the eighteenth year of his age. It was not to fix there : for some years after he went to his father, who lived at Colophon ; and afterwards resided in different places.

A. M.
3699.

He did not settle at Athens for good, till about the thirty-sixth year of his age.

He there erected a school in a fine garden which he had purchased. An incredible throng of hearers soon came thither from all parts of Greece, Asia, and even Egypt, to receive his lessons. If we may believe Torquatus, the warmest assertor of the Epicurean sect, upon this head, the disciples of Epicurus lived in common with their master in the most perfect friendship. Though throughout all antiquity, at least for many ages, scarce three couple of true friends had appeared, * Epicurus had known how to unite great numbers of them in one house, and that a small one. The philosopher Numenius, who lived in the second century, observes that amidst the discord and divisions which prevailed amongst each of the other sects, the disciples of Epicurus had continued in union down to his time. His school was never divided ; but always followed his doctrine like an oracle. His birth-day was celebrated in the time of Pliny the Naturalist, that is to say, above four hundred years after his death : they even feasted the whole month in which he was born. His picture was to be seen every where.

Euseb.

Præp.

Evangel.

l. 14. c. 5.

Plin. 134.
c. 2.

Epicurus composed a great number of books, which are made to amount to above three hundred ; and piqued himself upon quoting nothing, and deriving every thing from his own fund. Though

* Epicurus una in domo, & ea quidem angusta, quam magnos, quantaque amoris conspi-

ratione consentientes tenuit amicorum greges ! Cic.

none of them are come down to us, no philosopher's opinions are better known than his. We are most indebted for them to the poet Lucretius, and Diogenes Laertius, not to mention Cicero in his philosophical works. The learned Gassendi has collected with great exactness all that is to be found in antient writers concerning the doctrine and person of Epicurus.

He placed the Atomical system in exceeding reputation. We shall see that he was not the inventor of it, but that he only changed some things in it. His doctrine upon the supreme good of man, which he makes to consist in pleasure, contributed very much both to decry his sect, and to make it gain ground: it will also be spoken of in the sequel, as well as his opinions concerning the nature of the gods, providence, and destiny.

The praise given Epicurus by Lucretius his faithful interpreter, shews what we ought to think of that philosopher's system. He represents him as the first of mortals, who had the courage to rise up against the prejudices that blinded the universe, and to shake off the yoke of religion, which till him had held mankind subjected to its empire; and that without being awed either by respect for the gods, their fame, their thunders, or any other motive.

*Humana ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret
In terris oppressa gravi sub religione—
Primum Graius homo mortales tollere contra
Est oculos ausus, primusque obsistere contra:
Quem nec fama deùm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compressit cælum.*

Epicurus is praised for having never departed ^{Laert.} from his zeal for the good of his country. He did ^{Plut. in} not quit it when besieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes, ^{Demetr.} and determined to share in the miseries it suffered. P. 905. He lived upon beans, and gave his disciples the

Tacit.
Hist. l. 4.
c. 8.

same food. He desired good sovereigns, but submitted to those who governed ill. A maxim of great importance to the tranquillity of States. Tacitus expresses it in these terms: *Bonos Imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare.* "To pray for good Emperors, and suffer them of whatsoever kind they be."

A. M.
3733.

Epicurus died in the torments of a retention of urine, which he supported with extraordinary patience and constancy, the second year of the CXXVIIth Olympiad, at the beginning of his seventy-second year.

General reflection upon the several sects of philosophers.

I have endeavoured to set the history of the different sects of the heathen philosophers in as clear a light as possible. Before I take my leave of that subject, and proceed to explain the various opinions of those sects, I think it incumbent on me to apprise the reader, that he would be deceived, if he expected any considerable change or reformation in the manners of men from the different instructions of all those philosophers. The wisdom, so much boasted by the most learned amongst the many sects into which the universe were divided, could determine no question, and multiplied errors. All human philosophy pretended to, was to instruct men in living in a manner worthy of men; because it discovered in men no qualities but such as were human, and allotted to them only the enjoyment of human things. Its instructions are not useless in this point, as they at least dissuade men from the brutal life that dishonours the excellency of their nature, and makes them seek their happiness in the vilest part of their being, which is the body. But all the reformation they effect extends to very few things. What progress have the sects of philosophers made, though indued with so much eloquence, and supported with so much subtilty?

Have

Have they not left mankind where they found them, in the same perplexities, prejudices, and blindness?

And indeed how could they labour for the reformation of the human heart, as they neither knew wherein it was irregular, nor the source of its irregularity? Without the revelation of the sin of Adam, what could be known of man, and of his real state? Since his Fall he abounds with amazing contrarieties. He retains of his first origin characters of greatness and elevation, which his degradation and meanness have not been able to extinguish. He wills, he aspires at every thing. His desire of glory, immortality, and an happiness that includes all good, is infinite. A nothing employs him, a nothing afflicts or consoles him. On a thousand occasions he is an infant; weak, fearful, and dejected; without mentioning his vices and passions, which dishonour, debase, and sometimes make him inferior to the beasts of the field, to which he approaches nearer than to man by his unworthy inclinations.

The ignorance of these two conditions threw the philosophers into two equally absurd extremes. The Stoics, who made an idol of their chimerical wisdom, were for inspiring man with sentiments of pure and perfect greatness: which is not his condition. The Epicureans, who had degraded him by reducing him to mere matter, inculcated sentiments of pure and absolute meanness into him; and that is also as little his condition. Philosophy was not capable of discerning things so near and at the same time so remote from each other: so near, because united in the state of humanity; and so remote, because they belong by their nature to states entirely different. A distinction of this kind was not made before JESUS CHRIST, or independently of JESUS CHRIST. Before him man neither knew, nor was capable of knowing himself. He either

*Mr. Du
Guet. J. C.
crucifié,
Vol. I. c.
5. d'après
Mr. Pas-
chal.*

*Principes
de la Fol.
Vol. I.
c. 9.*

exalted or debased himself too much. His teachers always deceived him, either in flattering a pride it was necessary to depress, or augmenting a meanness it was necessary to exalt. Hence I comprehend how necessary revelation was to me, and how precious I ought to think the gift of the faith.

It is true the manner, in which the sin of Adam extended down to me, is covered with obscurities. But from that very point wrapt up in darkness, issues the light which makes all clear, and dispels all my difficulties. I am therefore far from refusing to believe one only thing, of which the belief is rewarded by the understanding of so many others: and chuse rather to submit my reason to a single article, which it does not comprehend, but which is revealed, than to make it fly out against an infinity of others, it comprehends as little, and of which divine revelation neither forbids us the examination, nor removes the difficulties.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF *PHILOSOPHY*.

INTRODUCTION.

BY the history of philosophy I understand the doctrines taught by each Sect of the antient philosophers.

Philosophy, amongst the antients, consisted of three parts: Dialectics or Logic, which directs the operations of the mind, and the formation of argument; Physics (that included also the metaphysics) which considers the structure of the world, the effects of nature, the existence and attributes of the Divinity, and the nature of the soul; and
lastly

lastly Ethics, which lays down the morals, and treats of the duties of life.

This is an ample subject, and the reader must not expect that I should treat it to the bottom. I have already declared more than once, that I do not write for the learned. Stoics, Peripatetics and Epicureans are frequently mentioned in books and conversation. I thought it proper therefore to give the generality, and persons of no great reading, some knowledge of the principal questions discussed by those philosophers, but without entering into an exact detail of their disputes, which are often very knotty and disagreeable.

Before I proceed to my subject, I cannot help observing the wonderful taste that prevailed amongst the most considerable persons, for all the sciences, and in particular for the study of philosophy. I do not speak only of the Greeks. We have seen how much the famous sages of Greece were esteemed in the court of Cræsus; the value Pericles set upon, and the use he made of the lessons of Anaxarchus; what passion the most illustrious citizens of Athens had for the conversations of Socrates; in what a manner Dion, notwithstanding the allurements of a court abandoned to pleasure, devoted himself to Plato; with what a taste even for the most abstracted knowledge, Aristotle inspired his pupil Alexander the Great; and lastly, how highly Pythagoras and his disciples were considered by the princes of that part of Italy called Great Greece.

The Romans did not give place in this respect to the Greeks, from the time that learning and the polite arts were introduced amongst them. Paulus Æmilius, after the conquest of Macedonia, thought one of the most grateful fruits of his victory, the having brought a philosopher from Greece to Rome, to instruct his children who were then in the army, and to converse with himself at his leisure hours.

Scipio Africanus, * who destroyed Carthage and Numantia, those formidable rivals of Rome, in the † midst of the most important affairs both of war and peace, knew how to procure himself moments of repose and retirement, for enjoying the conversation of Polybius and the philosopher Panætius, whom he had always along with him. Lælius, that model of virtue, more worthy of respect for his mild wisdom than his dignities, the intimate friend of Scipio, shared with him in the pleasure of those learned and agreeable conversations. The || friendship of those two great men for Panætius rose to a great degree of familiarity, and Cicero says, the philosopher highly deserved it. What honours did not Pompey render Pofidonius, going expressly to Rhodes, on his return from his glorious campaigns against Mithridates, to see and hear that philosopher! ‡ Lucullus, even whilst in the field, where a General has scarce time to breathe, found moments of leisure however for gratifying his taste for polite learning, and in particular for philosophy, and to hear the philosopher Antiochus, who was the companion of all his expeditions.

* Africanus duos terrores imperii Romani, Carthaginem Numantiamque deleverat. *Pro Mur.* n. 58.

† Ille, requiescens à reip. pulcherrimis muneribus, otium sibi sumebat aliquando, & à cœtu hominum frequentiaque interdum, tanquam in portum se in solitudinem recipiebat. *De offic.* l. 3. n. 2.

Scipio tam elegans liberalium studiorum omnisque doctrinæ & auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæque semper secum habuerit. *Vell. Patere.* l. 1. c. 13.

|| Homo inprimis ingenuus & gravis, dignus illa familiaritate Scipionis & Lælii, Panætius. *De Finib.* l. 4. n. 23.

‡ Majore studio Lucullus cùm omni literarum generi, tum philosophiæ deditus fuit, quàm qui illum ignorabant arbitrabantur. Nec verò ineunte ætate solum, sed & quæstor aliquot annos, & in ipso bello, in quo ita magna rei militaris esse occupatio solet, ut non multum imperatori sub ipsis pellibus otio relinquatur—Antiochum secum habuit. *A-cadem. Quæst.* l. 4. n. 4.

The Abbé Gedoyn, in respect to a letter of *Mem. de*
 Dionysius Halicarnassensis, observes upon the use *P. Acad. des*
 which the great men of the Roman commonwealth *Belles Let-*
 made of their leisure. The excellent education of *tres. Tom.*
 the Romans, says he, made them learned almost *V. p. 126.*
 from their infancy. They were perfectly instruct-
 ed in their own and the Greek tongues: to learn
 those two living languages, cost them little. They
 were inspired very early with a taste for the most
 excellent writers. That taste, instilled so soon in-
 to their infant minds, grew strong with years, and
 inclined them to cultivate the society of learned
 men, whose conversation might supply the place
 of reading, of which their employments deprived
 them. Thence it followed that the Romans,
 whose minds were all improved by Letters, lived
 together in a continual commerce of erudition.
 And what must have been the conversation of a
 great number of Romans, when they happened to
 meet in the same company! Hortensius, Cicero,
 Cotta, Cæsar, Pompey, Cato, Brutus, Atticus,
 Catullus, Lucullus, Varro, and many others!

But never did any one carry the taste and ar-
 dour, especially for philosophy, higher than Cice-
 ro. It is not easy to conceive how a man so much
 taken up as he was between the affairs of the bar
 and those of the state, could find time to make
 himself master, as he had done, of all the questi-
 ons discussed in his days amongst the philosophers.
 That time, as he tells us himself in respect to po- *Pro Arch.*
 lite learning, was what others bestowed on walk- *poet. n. 13.*
 ing, pleasure, the public shews, and gaming, and
 which he employed either in his closet, or in fa-
 miliar conversation with friends of the same taste
 as himself. * He was convinced that such studies
 and

* Si quodam in libro verè atque amplissimo quoque dig-
 est à nobis philosophia laudata, nissima est: nec quidquam ali-
 profectò ejus tractatio optimo ud videndum est nobis, quos
 D d. 4 populus

and recreation perfectly suited senators and statesmen, when they did not interfere with what they owed the public. Were it better, says he, that their meetings were in some measure passed in silence, or turned upon trifles and insignificant matters?

The philosophical books he has left us, which are not the least estimable part of his works, shew how far he had carried his application in that way. Without speaking of all the rest, he lays down excellent rules in them for those who write upon controverted subjects, and who undertake to refute their adversaries. † He is for engaging in disputes only from the love of truth, without prejudice, and without desire either of displaying one's wit, or of carrying one's point. He banishes all passion, anger, heat, insult, and reproaches from them. || *We are*, says he speaking of himself, *ready to refute our adversaries without tenaciousness in error, and to be refuted by them without resentment.*

How amiable is this character! How beautiful is it to seek in disputes, not to overcome our opponents, but solely to make truth triumphant! What advantage would not self-love itself, if it were allowable to hearken to it, find in such a conduct, to which it is not possible to refuse one's

populus Romanus hoc in gradu collocavit, nisi ne quid privatis studiis de operâ publicâ detrahamus.——Quasi verò clarorum virorum aut tacitos congressus esse oporteat, aut ludicros sermones, aut rerum colloquia leviorum. *Academ. Quæst. l. 4. n. 6.*

† Ego, si ostentatione aliqua inductus, aut studio certandi, ad hanc potissimum philosophiam me applicavi, non modo stultitiam meam, sed etiam mores & naturam contemnen-

dam puto. *Acad. Quæst. l. 4. n. 65.*

Differentium inter se reprehensiones non sunt vituperandæ. Maledicta, contumeliæ, tum iracundiæ, contentiones, concertationesque in disputando pertinaces, indignæ mihi philosophia videri solent. *De Finib. l. 1. n. 27.*

|| Nos & refellere sine pertinacia, & refelli sine iracundia parati sumus. *Tusc. Quæst. l. 2. n. 5.*

esteem, which adds new force to argument, which, whilst it gains the heart, prepares the mind for conviction, and by politeness and modesty, spares the mortifying confession of being mistaken, the secret pain, with which, through a vicious shame, it is almost always attended. When will this taste for study, and this wise moderation in disputes, revive amongst us?

We must however own for the honour of our times, that we have persons of extraordinary merit, who distinguish themselves particularly by these two qualities. I shall only mention the President Bouhier in this place. His learned remarks upon the text of several of Cicero's books, would alone suffice to shew the great extent of that illustrious magistrate's knowledge. The Abbé Olivet, in his preface to the new edition of the Tusculan questions, translated partly by the President Bouhier, and partly by himself, with a success that does equal honour to them both, says very well ;

“ Perhaps the example of a man of his rank and
 “ merit, may revive the taste for critical learning
 “ in France : a taste so common heretofore, that
 “ the celebrated Lambinus, when he devoted his
 “ labours to Cicero, was assisted by the greatest
 “ persons of his times. For, to make a transient
 “ observation, the list which he has left us of
 “ them, and which may be seen at the end of his
 “ preface, proves, that this same Cicero, who in
 “ our days is banished into the colleges, was two
 “ hundred years ago the delight of all the most
 “ considerable persons either of the bar or church.”

But I admire the character of modesty and wisdom, which prevail in the writings of the P. Bouhier, still more than his vast erudition. Mr. Davies had made some observations in England upon the same text of Cicero as himself. *The career of us both, says the magistrate, in this kind of literary amusement, does not resemble those, in which*

rivals

rivals ought only to aspire at the honour of overcoming. The true glory of critics consists in seeking the truth, and in doing justice to those who have found it. I am therefore charmed with doing it to the learned Englishman. He even thanks him for setting him right in respect to certain mistakes. What a difference there is between so moderate and rational a disposition, and the warmth of those authors who are so jealous of their reputation, as not to be able to suffer the slightest criticism.

To return to my subject. The division of philosophy into three parts, logic, ethics, and physics, supplies me with that I am to follow in the ensuing brief account of them.

CHAPTER I.

Opinions of the ancient philosophers upon logic.

DIALECTICS, or LOGIC, is the science that lays down rules to direct the operations of the mind in enquiries after the true, and* to teach us to discern it from the false. I have observed with sufficient extent in the fourth volume of my treatise upon the study of polite learning, of what advantage this part of philosophy was, and the use to be made of it.

Aristotle, among the ancients, is the most excellent author of logic. Besides several other works, we have his four books *De analysi*, wherein he lays down all the principles of reasoning. “ This
“ genius, says Rapin the Jesuit in his comparison
“ of Aristotle and Plato, so replete of reason and
“ understanding, fathoms the abyss of the human
“ mind in such a manner, that he penetrates into
“ all its springs by the exact distinction he makes
“ of its operations. The vast fund of the thoughts

* *Dialectica veri & falsi disceptatrix & judex. Acad. Quæst. l. 4. n. 91.*

“ of man had not before been founded, in order
 “ to know its depth. Aristotle was the first who
 “ discovered this new method for attaining know-
 “ ledge by the evidence of demonstration, and
 “ for proceeding geometrically to demonstration
 “ by the infallibility of syllogism, the most ac-
 “ complished work, the greatest effort of human
 “ wit.”

This is a praise, to which nothing can well be added: and indeed Aristotle cannot be denied the glory of having carried the force of reasoning very far, and of having traced out the rules and principles of it with abundance of subtlety and discernment.

† Cicero seems to acknowledge this philosopher the author and inventor of logic: he ascribes that honour himself to Zeno of Elæa, according to Di-^{In Zenon.} In Zenon. genes Laertius. Hence it is believed that Zeno was the first who discovered the natural series and dependance of principles and consequences, of which he formed an art, that till then had nothing fixed and regular. But Aristotle, without doubt, rose exceedingly upon him.

* This study was the principal occupation of the Stoics, who acknowledged another Zeno for their founder. They piqued themselves upon excelling in this kind of philosophy. And indeed, their manner of reasoning was warm, vigorous, close, and proper to dazzle and perplex their opponents; but obscure, dry, and void of all ornament, often degenerating into minuteness, sophism, and captious || wrested arguments, to use Cicero's term.

Though the question, Whether there be any thing certain in our knowledge? ought to be con-

† Aristoteles utriusque partis dialecticæ princeps. *Topic. n. 6.*

* Stoicorum in dialecticis omnis cura consumitur. *Brut.*

n. 118.

|| Contortulis quibusdam ac minutis conclusiunculis—
 effici volunt non esse malum
 dolorem. *Tusc. l. 2. n. 42.*

sidered only as preliminary to logic, it was however made the principal object of it, and what the philosophers disputed with most warmth. Their difference of opinion upon this subject consisted in its being believed by some, that it was possible to know and to judge with certainty; and on the contrary by others, that nothing could be certainly known, nor consequently affirmed, as positive.

Acad.
Quæst. n.
15.

Socrates's manner of disputing might have made way for this latter method of philosophizing. Every body knows that he never expressed his opinion, that he contented himself with refuting that of others without affirming any thing positively, and that he declared, he only knew that he knew nothing; and it was even for this, he believed that he deserved the praise given him by Apollo, of being the wisest of mankind. Many think Plato followed the same method, but authors do not agree about it.

Ibid. n. 17.

But it is certain, that the two most celebrated of Plato's disciples, Speusippus his nephew, and Aristotle, who formed two famous schools, the first that of the Academics, the other that of the Peripatetics, abandoned Socrates's custom of never speaking but with doubt, and of affirming nothing. Reducing the manner of treating questions to certain rules and a certain method, they composed of those rules and method, an art, a science, known under the name of the dialectics, or logic, which makes one of the three parts of philosophy. Though these two schools had a different name, they had at bottom the same principles with some very little difference, and are generally confounded under the name of the ancient academy.

The opinion of the ancient academy was, that, though our knowledge has its origin in the senses, the senses do not judge of truth, but the mind, which alone deserves to be believed, because
the

the mind alone sees things as they really are in themselves, that is to say, it sees what Plato calls the ideas, which always subsist in the same state, without suffering any change.

Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, who was of Citium, a small town of Cyprus, granted something more to the evidence of the senses, * which he pretended to be certain and clear, but under certain conditions, that is, if they were perfect and in good health, and without any obstacle to prevent their effect.

Acad.
Quæst. l. 1.
n. 30.

Epicurus went still farther. He gave so great a certainty to the evidence of the senses, that he † considered them as an infallible rule of truth: so that by his doctrine, objects are precisely what they appear: that the sun, for instance, and the fixed stars, had really no greater magnitude than they seem to have to our eyes. He admitted another means of discerning truth, that is, the ideas we have of things, without which we can neither form any question, nor pass any judgment. *An- tecepta animo quædam informatio, sine qua nec intel- ligi quicquam, nec quæri, nec disputari potest.*

Lib. de
nat. deor.
n. 43.

Zeno made use of the same principle, and insisted particularly upon the clear, evident, and certain ideas, which we naturally have of certain principles relating to morals and the conduct of life. “ || The good man, says he, is determined

* Ita tamen maxima est in sensibus veritas, si & sani sunt & valentes, & omnia removen- tur quæ obstant & impediunt. *Lib. 4. n. 19.*

† Epicurus omnes sensus ve- ri nuncios dixit esse. *Lib. 1. de nat. deor. n. 70.*

|| Quæro etiam, ille vir bo- nus, qui statuit omnem crucia- tum perferre, intolerabili dolo- re lacerari potius, quam aut of- ficiu prodat aut fidem, cur

has sibi tam graves leges im- posuerit, cum, quamobrem ita oporteret, nihil habe- ret comprehensi, percepti, cogniti, constituti? Nullo igitur modo fieri potest, ut quisquam tanti æstimet æquita- tem & fidem, ut ejus conser- vandæ causa nullum supplicium recuset, nisi iis rebus assensus sit, quæ falsæ esse non possunt. *Acad. Quæst. l. 4. n. 23.*

“ to suffer every thing, and to perish in the most
 “ cruel torments, rather than depart from his du-
 “ ty, and betray his country. I ask why he im-
 “ poses upon himself a law so cruel, and so con-
 “ trary in appearance to his interests, and whether
 “ it be possible for him to take such a resolution,
 “ if he had not a clear and distinct idea in his
 “ mind of justice and fidelity, which evidently
 “ shew him, that he ought to expose himself to
 “ every kind of infliction, rather than act what is
 “ contrary to justice and fidelity.”

Nihil est
 in intel-
 lectu, quod
 non prius
 fuerit in
 sensu.

This argument, which Zeno founds upon the certainty of clear and evident ideas, shews the falshood of the principle generally received in the school of the Peripatetics, *That all our ideas are derived from our senses.* For, as the logic of Port-Royal observes, there is nothing that we conceive more distinctly than our thought itself, nor any proposition more clear than this, *I think, therefore I am.* Now we could have no certainty of this proposition, if we did not conceive distinctly what it is *to be*, and what it is *to think*. And we must not be asked to explain those terms, because they are of the number of those, which are so well understood by all the world, that endeavouring to explain them, would render them obscure. If it cannot be denied, that we have in us the ideas of being and thinking, I would know by which of the senses they entered into our minds. It must then be admitted that they do not in any manner derive their origin from the senses.

* Zeno shewed also the falshood and ridicule of the opinion of the Academics by another reflection. In the ordinary conduct of life, said he, it is im-

* Si, quid officii sui sit, non occurrit animo, nihil unquam agere aget, ad nullam rem unquam impelletur, nunquam

movebitur. Quod si aliquid aliquando acturus est, necesse est id ei verum, quod occurrit, videri. *Ibid. n. 24.*

possible to make any choice, or determine upon any thing, without first having a fixed and certain principle in the mind, to determine us to chuse one thing rather than another: For without that we should continue always in uncertainty and inaction.

The followers of the ancient academy, and the Stoics, agreed therefore with each other, as both maintained, though upon different principles, that there were certain means for knowing truth, and consequently evident and certain knowledge.

Arcefilaus rose up with great vivacity against this opinion, confining himself particularly to opposing Zeno, and formed a sect, which was called the Middle academy, and subsisted down to Carneades, the fourth successor of Arcefilaus, who founded the sect called the New academy. As it deviated only in some small alterations from the Middle one, they are confounded with each other, and both included in the name of *the New Academy*. This sect was in great reputation. Cicero embraced it openly, and declared himself its defender. Academ. Quæst. l. i. n. 44.

If we may believe him, it was neither through obstinacy, nor the frivolous desire of overcoming, that Arcefilaus attacked Zeno, but through the obscurity of all knowledge, which had obliged Socrates, as well as Democritus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, and almost all the ancient philosophers, to confess their ignorance, and to agree, that there was nothing to be known, nothing determined with certainty, not even what Socrates had excepted in saying; *I know only one thing, which is, that I know nothing*. Ibid n. 44.

The main point in dispute between Zeno and Arcefilaus was the evidence of the senses. Zeno affirmed, that truth might be certainly known by their aid: Arcefilaus denied it. The latter's principal reason was, that there is no certain mark to distinguish Ibid. n. 66, &c.

distinguish false and delusive objects from such as are not so. There are some, which either are, or appear so perfectly like each other, that it is impossible to discern the difference. Hence, in judging and affirming any thing of them, one is liable to err, and to take the true for the false, and the false for the true, which is entirely unworthy of a wise man. * Consequently, to act with prudence, he ought to suspend his judgment, and decide nothing. And this was what Arcefilaus did: for he passed whole days in disputing with others, and in refuting their opinions, without ever expressing his own.

The Academics, by his example, acted ever after in the same manner. We have seen that Carneades, when he went to Rome with two other deputies, spoke one day for, and the next against, justice, with equal force and eloquence. † They pretended, that the end of these discourses, wherein they maintained both sides of a question, was, by such enquiries, to discover something true, or at least that came near the truth. The only difference, said they, between us, and those who believe they know something, is, that those other philosophers boldly advance what they maintain for true and incontestable, and we have the modesty to affirm our positions only as probable and like truth. They added, that their doctrine was accused without foundation of reducing mankind to inaction, and of opposing the duties of life; as probability and the likeness to truth sufficed to determine their choice of one thing rather than another. We have an excellent treatise of Cicero's,

Ibid.
n. 108, &c.

* Ex his illa necessariò nata est *ἡσυχία*, id est assensionis retentio. *Acad. Quæst. l. 4. n. 59.*

† Neque nostræ disputationes quidquam aliud agunt, ni-

si ut, in utramque partem dicendo & audiendo eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum sit, aut ad id quàm proximè accedat. *Lib. 4. n. 7, 8.*

entitled *Lucullus*, which is reckoned as the fourth book of the Academic Questions; wherein Cicero makes Lucullus defend the opinion of the ancient academy, That there are things which a man is capable of knowing and comprehending; and for himself he maintains the contrary opinion, which is that of the new academy, That man's knowledge extends no farther than appearances, Academi. Quest. 1. 4. n. 61, 62. and that he can have none but probable opinions. Lucullus, in concluding his dissertation, which is of considerable length and very eloquent, apostrophizes in these terms to Cicero. "Is it possible, after the magnificent praises you have given philosophy, that you can embrace a sect which confounds the true with the false, which deprives us of the use of reason and judgment, which forbids us to approve any thing, and divests us of all our senses? The Cimmerians themselves, who are said never to see the sun, have some fires, some twilight, to illuminate them. But the philosophers, for whom you declare, in the midst of the profound darkness with which they surround us, leave us no spark of light to guide us. They keep us hampered in chains, which will not suffer us to make the least motion. For, to conclude, to forbid us, as they do, to give our consent to any thing whatsoever, is actually to deprive us entirely of the use of our minds, and at the same time to prohibit us all manner of action." It were hard to refute the doctrine of the new academy better, which really seems to degrade man, in confining him to a state of absolute ignorance, and in leaving nothing to guide him but doubt and uncertainty.

Father Mallebranche, in his enquiry after truth, lays down with great extent an excellent principle concerning the senses. It is, that the senses were given us by God, not to enable us to know the nature of objects, but their relation to us; not what

they are in themselves, but whether they are advantageous or hurtful to our bodies. This principle is highly luminous, and destroys all the little glosses and chicane of the antient philosophers. As to objects in themselves, we know them by the ideas we have of them.

*Logic of
Port-
Royal.
Part IV.
c. 1.*

I have said that the new academics contented themselves with denying certainty, and admitting probability. The sect of Pyrrho, which was a branch that sprung from the academics, even denied that probability, and pretended, that every thing was equally obscure and uncertain.

But the truth is, that all these opinions, which have made so much noise in the world, never subsisted except in discourse, disputation, or writing, whilst nobody ever was seriously convinced by them. They were the diversions and amusements of persons of wit and leisure : but they were never opinions by which those persons were inwardly much affected, and consequently willing to direct their conduct. They pretended that sleeping could not be distinguished from waking, nor madness from reason : but notwithstanding all their arguments, could they doubt whether they slept, or whether they were in their senses ? But if there had been any body capable of these doubts, at least no man could doubt whether he is, whether he thinks, or whether he lives. For whether he sleeps or wakes, whether he is in or out of his senses, whether he does, or does not, err, it is at least certain, because he thinks, that he is and that he lives ; it being impossible to separate being and life from thought, and to believe that what thinks is not, and does not live.

CHAPTER II.

Opinions of the antient philosophers concerning the Ethics, or morality.

MORAL philosophy, or the **ETHICS**, whose object is the regulation of the manners, is, properly speaking, the science of man. All other knowledge is in some measure external and without him, or at least may be said not to extend to what is more immediately personal and himself, I mean the heart: for it is in that the whole man consists, and is what he is. They may render him more learned, more eloquent, more just in his reasonings, more knowing in the mysteries of nature, more fit to command armies, and to govern states: but they neither make him better, nor wiser. These however are the only things that concern him nearly, in which he is personally interested, and without which all the rest ought to appear next to perfectly indifferent.

It was this induced Socrates to believe, that the regulation of the manners was to be preferred to all other science. Before him the philosophers almost wholly devoted themselves to enquiring into the secrets of nature, to measuring the extent of lands and seas, and in studying the course of the stars. * He was the first † that placed the Ethics in honour, and to use the terms of Cicero, brought philosophy down from heaven || into cities, intro-

* A Socrate omnis, quæ est de vita & moribus, philosophia manavit. *Tuscul. Quæst.* l. 3. n. 8.

† *The more antient philosophers, and especially Pythagoras, had given their disciples good precepts of morality: but did not*

make them their principal doctrine like Socrates.

|| Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit è cœlo, & in urbibus collocavit, & in domos etiam introduxit, & coegit de vita & moribus, rebusque bonis & malis quærere. *Ibid.* l. 5. n. 10.

duced her also into houses, and familiarized her with individuals, in obliging her to give them precepts upon the manners and conduct of life.

She did not confine herself to the care of particulars. The government of states was always the principal object of the reflections of the most celebrated philosophers. Aristotle and Plato have left us several tracts of great extent upon this subject, which have always been highly esteemed, and contain excellent principles. This part of moral philosophy is called *Politics*. I shall not treat it separately in this place; and shall content myself in the sequel, where I shall speak of duties, with making some extracts from Plato and Cicero, which will shew what noble ideas they had of the manner of governing states.

Moral philosophy ought to instruct mankind principally in two things. It ought, in the first place, to teach them in what that supreme good, or *happiness*, consists, at which they all aspire; then to shew them the virtues and duties, by which they may attain it. It is not to be expected that Paganism should lay down the purest and most perfect maxims upon matters of such importance. We shall find a mixture of light and darkness in it, which will amaze us, and is at the same time highly capable of instructing us.

I shall add a short discourse upon civil law to my account of the Ethics, or moral philosophy.

ARTICLE I.

Opinions of the antient philosophers upon the supreme good, or happiness, of man.

IN all moral philosophy there is not a more important subject, than that which relates to the Supreme Good of man. Many questions are discussed in the schools indifferent enough with respect to the generality of men, and in which they might
 2 dispense

dispense with instructing themselves, without any great detriment to the manners and conduct of life.

* But the ignorance of what constitutes his supreme good leads man into infinite error, and occasions his walking always by chance, without having any thing fixed and determinate, and without knowing either where he goes, or what paths he ought to take: whereas that principle once well established, he knows all his duties clearly, and to what he is to adhere in every thing else.

† Philosophers are not the only persons that take pains to enquire wherein this supreme good consists; but all men, the learned, the ignorant, the wise, the stupid: there is nobody that does not share in this important question. And though the head should continue indifferent about it, the heart could not avoid making its choice. It raises this secret cry of itself in regard to some object: Happy is he who possesses that!

Man has the idea and desire of a supreme good implanted in his nature: and that idea and desire are the source of all his other desires, and of all his actions. Since his Fall, he retains only a confused and general notion of it, which is inseparable from his being. He cannot avoid loving and pursuing this good, which he knows only confusedly: but he knows not where it is, nor wherein it consists, and the pursuit of it precipitates him into an infinity of errors. For finding created good things which satisfy some small part of that infinite avari-

* Summum bonum si ignoratur, vivendi rationem ignorari necesse est. Ex quo tantus error consequitur, ut, quem in portum se recipiant, scire non possint. Cognitis autem rerum finibus, cum intelligitur quid sit & bonorum extremum & malorum, inventa vitæ via est, conformatioque omnium

officiorum.—Hoc constituto, in philosophia, constituta sunt omnia. *De Finib. bon. & mal.* l. 5. n. 15.

† Omnis auctoritas philosophiæ consistit in beata vita comparanda. Beatè enim vivendi cupiditate incensi omnes sumus. *Ibid.* n. 86.

ty which engrosses him, he takes them for the supreme good, directs all his actions to them, and thereby falls into innumerable crimes and errors.

This we shall see evidently in the different opinions of the philosophers upon this head. Cicero has treated it with abundance of extent and erudition in his five books *De Finibus bonorum & malorum*, in which he examines wherein real good and evil consist. I shall confine myself to the plan he has followed, and shall relate after him what the Epicureans, Stoics, and Peripatetics, the three most celebrated sects of philosophy, thought upon this subject.

The two last will from time to time afford us excellent maxims upon different subjects, but often mixed with false principles and gross errors. We are not to expect to find any thing instructive in them concerning future good. Human philosophy does not exalt man above himself, but confines him to the earth. Though many of the philosophers were convinced of the immortality of the soul, and in consequence that this life is but a moment in respect to the eternal duration of our souls, they have however devoted their whole study and attention to this life of a moment. What was to happen hereafter in the other, was only the subject of some barren conversations, from which they deduced no consequence either for their own conduct, or that of others. Thus these pretended sages, who knew all things except themselves, and to what every particular thing was destined except man, may be justly considered as ignorant and senseless. For not to know what one is, and whither one goes; to be ignorant of one's end, and of the means for attaining it; to be learned in what is superfluous and foreign, and blind to what is personal and necessary, is certainly to be void of sense.

S E C T. I.

Opinions of Epicurus concerning the supreme good.

THE name alone of Epicurus suffices to inform us, that in the present question * we are not to expect to be inspired by him with noble and generous sentiments.

According to all the philosophers, That is called the supreme Good, upon which all other Good depends, and which depends itself upon no other. De Finib. l. 1. n. 29. Epicurus makes this supreme Good consist in pleasure, and by necessary consequence, supreme Evil in pain. Nature herself, says he, teaches us this truth, and prompts us from our birth to pursue whatever gives us pleasure as our supreme good, and to avoid whatever gives us pain as our supreme evil. There is no more occasion for studied arguments to establish this truth, than there is to prove that fire is hot, snow white, and honey sweet: which are self-evident. Let us suppose, on one side, a man enjoying the greatest pleasures both of body and mind, without of fear their being interrupted; and on the other, a man suffering the sharpest pains, without any hope of relief: can we doubt on which side to place supreme good and supreme evil?

As it does not depend upon man to exempt himself from pain, Epicurus opposes that inconvenience with a remedy founded upon a reasoning, which he believes very persuasive. *If pain be great,* De Finib. l. 2. n. 93. *it will be short; if long, it will be slight.* Tuscul. Quant. l. 2. n. 44, 45. As if a disease did not often happen to be at the same time both long and painful, and reasoning had any power over the sense of feeling.

* Epicurus, in constitutione finis, nihil generosum sapit atque magnificum. *De Finib. l. 1. n. 23.*

Id. l. 3.

n. 33, &c.

He proposed another remedy, of no greater efficacy, against the sharpness of pain; which was, to divert the mind from the evils we suffer, by turning our whole attention upon the pleasures we have formerly enjoyed, and upon those we are in hopes of tasting hereafter. * How! might one reply to him, whilst the violence of pain racks, burns, and agonizes me, without a moment's intermission, do you bid me forget and disregard it? Is it in my power then to dissemble, and forget in that manner? Can I stifle and silence the voice of nature at such a time?

Id. l. 2.

n. 17.

When he was obliged to give up all these false and wretched reasonings, he had no other evasion than to admit, that his wise man might be sensible of pain, but that he would persist in believing himself happy during it; and to this he adhered. Cicero tells us, that whilst he talks in this manner, he found it scarce possible to forbear laughing. If the sage be tortured, if he be burnt, (one would imagine Epicurus was going to say, that he would bear it with constancy, and not sink under it: but that is not enough for him, he goes still farther) If the † sage were in the burning bull of Phalaris, he would cry out with joy: *How grateful is this! How little I value it!* It is surprizing to hear such words from the idolator of voluptuousness, the man who makes supreme good consist in pleasure, and supreme evil in pain. || But we are still more surprized when we see Epicurus sustain this generous

* Non est in nostra potestate, fodicantibus his rebus quas malas esse opinemur, dissimulatio vel oblivio. Lacerant, vexant, stimulos admovent, ignes adhibent, respirare non sinunt; & tu oblivisci jubes, quod contra naturam est? Cicero.

† In Phalaridis tauro si erit, dicet; *Quàm suave est hoc! Quàm hoc non curo!* Cicero.

|| Quid porro? Non æquè incredibile videtur, aliquem in summis cruciatibus positum, dicere: *Beatus sum?* Atqui hæc vox in ipsa officina voluptatis est audita: *Bea issimum,* inquit, *hunc & ultimum diem ago,* Epicurus; cum illum hinc vinæ difficultas torqueret, hinc insanabilis exulcerati dolor ventris. Senec. Epist. 92.

character

character to the last, and to hear him in the midst of the acutest pangs of the stone, and the excessive torments of the most terrible cholic, cry out: *I am happy. This is the last and the most fortunate day of my life.*

Cicero asks, how it is possible to reconcile Epicurus with himself? * As for him, who does not deny pain to be pain, he does not carry the virtue of the wiseman to so high a pitch. “To me it is enough, says he, if he supports evils with patience. I do not require that he should suffer them with joy. For undoubtedly pain is a sad, sharp, bitter thing, contrary to nature, and exceedingly hard to undergo.” This is thinking and speaking reasonably. The language of Epicurus is that of pride and vanity, which seeks to exhibit itself as a sight, and whilst it displays a false courage, proves a real weakness.

For the rest, these absurd consequences of Epicurus, were inevitably necessary consequences of his erroneous principles. For if the wiseman must be happy as long as he is wise, pain, not depriving him of his wisdom, cannot deprive him of his happiness. Thus he is reduced to affirm himself happy in the midst of the most exquisite torments.

It must be owned, that Epicurus has maxims and even actions ascribed to him, which are dazzling and surprizing, and which give a quite different idea of his person and doctrine, to what is generally formed of them. And from hence many learned and celebrated persons have taken upon them his defence, and wrote his apology.

* Tullius dolorem, dolorem esse non negat—Ego, inquit, tantam vim non tribuo sapientiæ contra dolorem. Sit fortis in perferendo, officio satis est: ut lætetur etiam, non postulo.

Tristis enim res est sine dubio, aspera, amara, inimica naturæ, ad patiendum tolerandumque difficilis. *Tuscul. Quæst.* l. 2. n. 33. & 18.

He

He declares loudly, says Cicero †, that one cannot live joyously, except with wisdom, honesty, and justice; and that one cannot live with wisdom, honesty and justice, otherwise than joyously. What does not such a principle include!

Upon moral subjects, and rules of duty, he advances maxims no less noble and severe.

Senec.

Ep. 29.

Seneca repeats many of his sayings, which are certainly very laudable. *I was never studious of pleasing the people: for, what I know, the multitude do not approve, and what the multitude do approve, I don't know.*

Id Epist.

11.

Instead of the whole people * Epicurus substitutes some man of great virtue and reputation, whom he is for having us set perpetually before our eyes, as our guardian and inspector, in order to our acting in all things, as if he were the eye-witness and judge of our actions. And indeed, it were to retrench the greatest part of one's faults, to give them a witness one respects; of whom the authority and idea only would make our most secret actions more prudent and blameless.

|| If you would make Pythocles truly rich, said Epicurus, you must add nothing to his estate, but only retrench his desires and appetites.

I should never have done, should I repeat his many other maxims of morality equally just. Does Socrates himself talk better than Epicurus? And some pretend that his life suited his doctrine.

† Clamat Epicurus, non posse jucundè vivi, nisi sapienter, honestè, justèque vivatur: nec sapienter, honestè, justè, nisi jucundè. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 57.

* Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est, ac semper ante oculos habendus, ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus, & omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus. Hoc, mi Lucili, Epi-

curus præcepit, custodem nobis & pædagogum dedit: nec immeritò. Magna pars peccatorum tollitur, si peccatoris testis adsistat. Aliquem habeat animus, quem vereatur, cujus auctoritate etiam secretum suum sanctius faciat.

|| Si vis, inquit, Pythoclea divitem facere, non pecuniæ adjiciendum, sed cupiditatibus detrahendum. *Senec. Ep. 21.*

Though

Though the gardens of Epicurus had this inscription, *Pleasure is here the supreme good*, the master of them, though very courteous and polite, received his guests with bread and water. Senec. Ep. 21.

Himself, this teacher of voluptuousness, had certain days, when he satisfied his hunger with great sobriety. He says in a letter, that he did not spend quite an *as*, that is a penny, upon a meal; and that Metrodorus, his companion, who was not so old, spent an whole *as*. Senec. Ep. 18.

We have seen with what courage he suffered the sharpest and most cruel pains in his last moments. What can be said of these facts, and many of the like nature? for many such are related of him.

What shall we say also on the other side, of facts in great number directly the reverse, and his being reproached with abandoning himself to drunkenness and the most shameful debauches, as Diogenes Laertius informs us?

But Cicero cuts the question short in one word, and reduces it to a single point. “Do you believe, says somebody to him, that Epicurus was the man some are for having him pass for, and that his design was to inculcate irregularity and debauch? No, replies Cicero: for I find he also advances very fine maxims, and most severe morality. But here, not his life and manners, but his doctrine and opinions are the question. Now he explains himself upon what he understands by pleasure and happiness in a manner by no means obscure. * *I understand by that word, says Epicurus, the pleasures of the taste, the pleasures of love, the view of such objects as delight the eye, diversions and music.* Do I add to his words? Have I annexed any thing Tuscul. Quæst. 1.3. n. 46, 47.

* Non verbo solum posuit voluptatem, sed explanavit quid diceret. Saporem, inquit, & corporum complexum, & ludos, atque cantus, & formas eas quibus oculi jucunde moveantur.

“ false

“ false to them ? If so, pray correct me ; for I
 “ have no view but to clear up the truth.”

De Finib. The same † Epicurus declares, *He cannot so*
 l. 2. n. 7. *much as conceive that there is any other good, except*
 De nat. *what consists in drinking, eating, harmonious sounds*
 deor. l. 11. *that delight the ear, and obscene pleasures.* Are not
 n. 111. these his own terms, says Cicero ? *An hæc ab eo non*
dicuntur ?

If we suppose that he maintained such a maxim,
 what regard is to be had for his finest discourses
 elsewhere upon virtue and purity of manners ? The
 De nat. same judgment was passed on them as on the books
 deor. l. 1. n. 116 & he wrote upon the Divinity. People were con-
 123. vinced, that in reality he believed there were no
 gods. He however spoke of the veneration due
 to them in the most magnificent terms, in order to
 screen his real sentiments and person, and to avoid
 drawing the Athenians upon him. He had the
 same interest in covering so shocking a doctrine,
 as that which makes the supreme good consist in
 voluptuousness.

De Finib. Torquatus urged extremely in favour of Epicu-
 l. 2. n. 5 r, rus, whose doctrine he defended, the passage
 &c. where that philosopher said, that without wisdom,
 honesty, and justice, it was impossible to lead an
 happy life : *non posse jucundè vivi, nisi honestè, &*
sapienter & justè vivatur. Cicero does not suffer
 himself to be dazzled by an empty glitter of words,
 with which Epicurus took pains to cover the turpi-
 tude of his maxims. He proves at large that wis-
 dom, honesty, and justice, were irreconcilable with
 pleasure, in the sense that Epicurus gives it, which
 is a disgrace to philosophy, and a dishonour to
 nature itself. He asks Torquatus, if, when he
 should be elected consul, which was soon to hap-

† Testificatur, ne intelligere
 quidem se posse, ubi sit aut
 quid sit ullum bonum, præter
 illud, quod cibo, aut potione,

& aurium delectatione, & ob-
 scena voluptate capiatur. *De*
Finib. l. 2. n. 7.

pen, he would venture in his speech to the people or senate, to declare, that he entered upon office fully resolved to propose to himself no other view or end in all his actions but voluptuousness? And wherefore would he not venture it, except because he well knows that such language is infamous?

I shall conclude this article with a fine contrast made here by Cicero. On the one side he represents L. Thorius Balbus Lanuvinus, one of those men so expert and delicate in voluptuousness, that make it their business and merit to refine upon every thing which bears the name of pleasure: who, void of all chagrin for the present, and all uneasiness about the future, did not abandon himself brutally to the excesses of eating and drinking, nor to other gross diversions; but, attentive to his health and certain rules of decency, led an easy life of softness and delight, entertained a company of chosen friends every day at his house, had his table always covered with the finest and most exquisite dishes, denied himself nothing that could flatter his senses agreeably, nor any of those pleasures, without which Epicurus did not conceive how the supreme good could subsist; in a word, who was industrious in culling every where, to use the expression, the quintessence of joy and delight, and whose rosy complexion argued the extraordinary fund of health and good plight which he enjoyed. This is the man, says Cicero, addressing himself to Torquatus, who according to your estimate is supremely happy.

* I am afraid to name the person I design to oppose

* Ego, huic quem anteponom, non audeo dicere: dicet pro me ipsa virtus, nec dubitabit isti vestro beato M. Regulum antepondere. Quem quidem, cum sua voluntate, nulla vi coactus præter fidem quam

dederat hosti, ex patria Carthaginem revertisset, tum ipsum, cum vigiliis & fame cruciaretur, clamat virtus beatiorem fuisse, quam potantem in rosa Thorium. Bella magna gesserat, bis consul fuerat, triumpharat:

pose to him ; but virtue itself will do it for me : it is M. Regulus, who of his own accord, with no other force than his word given the enemy, returned from Rome to Carthage, where he knew what torments were prepared for him, and where he was actually put to death by hunger and being kept perpetually awake. It is in those very torments that virtue itself loudly declares him infinitely more happy than your Thorius on his bed of roses and wallowing in voluptuousness. Regulus had commanded in great wars, had been twice consul, and received the honour of a triumph : but he deemed all those advantages nothing in comparison with this last event of his life, which his fidelity to his word and his constancy had drawn upon him : an event, of which the mere repetition afflicts and frightens us, though the reality was matter of joy and pleasure to Regulus.

Put but a Christian suffering for the truth in the place of Regulus, and nothing can be more conclusive than Cicero's reasoning. Without which it is only refuting one absurdity by another, and opposing a false idea of happiness to an infamous happiness.

S E C T. II.

Opinions of the Stoics concerning the supreme good.

WE now quit the school of least repute amongst the antient philosophers for its doctrine and manners, but which however had abundance of authority, and whose dogmas were almost universally followed in practice, the attraction of pleasure being far more efficacious than the finest reasonings.

pharat : nec tamen sua illa superiora tam magna nec tam præclara ducebat, quàm illum ultimum casum, quem propter fidem constantiamque suscepe-

rat ; qui nobis miserabilis videtur audientibus, illi perpetuanti erat voluptarius. *De Finib.* l. 2.

We

We now proceed to another school much extolled by the Pagan world, from which it derived abundance of honour, and in which it pretended that virtue was taught and practised in all its purity and perfection. It is plain that I speak of the Stoics.

It was a common principle with all the philosophers, that the supreme good consisted in living according to nature: *secundum naturam vivere, summum bonum esse*. The different manner in which they explained this conformity to nature, occasioned the diversity of their opinions. Epicurus placed it in pleasure: others in exemption from pain: and some in other objects. Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, made it consist solely in virtue. According to him, to live according to nature, in which alone happiness consists, is to live honestly and virtuously. Behold what nature inspires, to what she inclines us, honesty, *decency*, and virtue: and she inspires us at the same time with a supreme horror for all that is contrary to honesty, *decency*, and virtue.

De Finib.
l. 4. n. 14.

* This truth is evidently seen in children, in whom we admire candour, simplicity, tenderness, gratitude, compassion, purity, and ignorance of all evil and artifice. From whence do they derive such excellent virtues, if not from nature herself, who paints and shews herself in infants as in a mirror? In a more advanced † age, who can forget the

* Id indicant pueri, in quibus, ut in speculis, natura cernitur.—Quæ memoria est in his bene merentium! quæ referendæ gratiæ cupiditas! Atque ea in optima quaque indole maximè apparent. *De Finib. l. 5. n. 61.*

† In iis vero ætatibus quæ jam confirmatæ sunt, quis est tam dissimili homini, qui non

moveatur & offensione turpitudinis, & comprobatione honestatis? Quis est qui non oderit libidinosam, protervam adolescentiam? Quis contra in illa ætate pudorem, constantiam, etiam si sua nihil intersit, non tamen diligit?—Cui Tubuli nomen odio non est? Quis Aristidem mortuum non diligit? An obliviscamur, quantopere

the Man so much as to refuse his esteem to wise, sober, and modest youth : and with what eye on the contrary do we look on young persons abandoned to vice and depravity ? When we read in history, on one side, of goodness, generosity, clemency, and gratitude ; and on the other, of violence, injustice, ingratitude, and cruelty : however remote in time we are from the persons spoken of, are we masters of our opinions, can we forbear loving the one and detesting the other ? Observe, says Zeno, the voice of nature, which cries aloud, that there is no real good but virtue, no real evil but vice.

The Stoics could not reason either more justly or with apter consequence in their principles, which were however the source of their errors and mistakes. On the one side, convinced that man is made for happiness, as the ultimate end to which he is destined ; and on the other, confining the whole being and duration of man to this life, and finding nothing in so short a space, more great, more estimable, and more worthy of a man than virtue ; it is not to be wondered that they should place man's ultimate end and happiness in it. As they had no knowledge either of another life, or of the promises of eternity, they could not do better in the narrow sphere wherein they confined themselves through the ignorance of revelation. They rose as high as it was possible for them to rise. They were under the necessity of taking the means for the end, the way thither for being there. For want of knowing better, they took nature for their guide : They applied themselves to the consideration of it, by what it has of great and sublime, whilst the Epicurean considered it only by what it

topere in audiendo legendoque
moveamur, cum piè, cum ami-
cè, cum magno animo aliquid

factum cognoscimus ? *Ibid.*
n. 62.

has of earthly, animal, and corrupt. Hence they necessarily made man's happiness to consist in virtue.

As to what regards health, riches, reputation, and the like advantages; or diseases, poverty, ignominy, and the other inconveniences of this kind; Zeno did not place them in the number either of goods or evils, nor make the happiness or misery of mankind depend upon them. He therefore maintained, that * virtue alone and of itself sufficed to their happiness; and that all the wise, in whatsoever condition they might happen to be, were happy. He however set some, though small, value upon those external goods and evils, which he defined in a manner different, as to the terms, from that of other philosophers, but which at bottom came very near the same opinions.

We may judge of all the rest by a single example. The other philosophers considered pain as a real and solid evil, which extremely incommoded the wise man, but which he endeavoured to support with patience; which did not hinder him from being happy, but rendered his happiness less complete. Hence, according to them, a good action exempt from pain, was preferable to one united with it. The Stoics believed, that such an opinion degraded and dishonoured virtue, to which all external goods joined together added no more than the stars to the lustre of the sun, a drop of water to the vast extent of the ocean, or a mite to the innumerable millions of Croesus; to use their own comparisons. A wise Stoic therefore reckoned pain as nothing, and however violent it might be, he was very far from calling it an evil.

Pompey, in his return from Syria, passed expressly by the way of Rhodes to see the celebrated

De Finib.

l. 3. n. 43.

45.

Tusc.

Quæst. l. 3.

n. 61.

* Virtutis tantam vim esse, ut ad beatè vivendum se ipsa contenta sit.—Sapientes om-

nes esse semper beatos. De Finib. l. 5. n. 77.

Stoic Posidonius. When he arrived at the house of that philosopher, he forbade his lictor to strike the door with his wand, as was the custom. † The person, says Pliny, to whose power the East and West were in subjection, was pleased that the *fascēs* of his lictor should pay homage to the dwelling of a philosopher. He found him in bed very ill of the gout, which tormented him cruelly. He expressed his concern to see him in that condition, and that he could not hear him as he had promised himself. That, replied the philosopher, depends upon yourself; it shall never be said that my illness occasioned so great a person to come to my house in vain.

He then began a long and grave discourse, wherein he undertook to prove, that there was nothing good but what was honest: * And as he was in excessive pain all over whilst he spoke, he often repeated; *Pain, you do nothing; though you are troublesome, you shall never make me own you an evil.*

Ibid. n. 60. Another Stoic was of a better faith. This was Dionysius of Heraclea, Zeno's disciple, whose doctrine he had long and warmly maintained. || In the torments of the stone, which made him cry out terribly, he discovered the falshood of all he had taught in respect to pain. *I have devoted many years, said he, to the study of philosophy, and cannot bear pain. Pain is therefore an evil.*

† Pompeius, confecto Mithridatico bello, intraturus Posidonii sapientiæ professione clari domum, fores percuti de more à lictore vetuit; & fascēs lictorios januæ submisit is, cui se Oriens Occidentisque submiserat. *Plin. l. 7. c. 30.*

* Cumque ei quasi faces doloris admoventur, sæpe dixit:

Nil agis, dolor; quam-vis sis molestus, nunquam te esse confitebor malum.

|| Cùm ex renibus laboraret, ipso in ejulatu clamitabat, falsa esse illa, quæ antea de dolore ipse sensisset. — *Plurimos annos in philosophia consumpsi, nec ferre possum (dolorem) malum est igitur dolor.*

It is not necessary to ask the reader's judgment of these two philosophers. The character of these false sages of the Pagan world is painted in the most lively colours, in the words and actions of the first. They exhibited themselves as spectacles, and fed themselves up with the attention of others, and the admiration which they believed they occasioned. They bore up against their inward sense through the shame of appearing weak, whilst they concealed their real despair under the appearance of a false tranquillity.

It must be confessed that pain is the most dreadful proof of virtue. It plunges its sharpness into the inmost soul: it racks, it torments it, without its being possible to suspend the sense of it: it keeps it in spite of it employed by a secret and deep wound, that engrosses its whole attention, and renders time insupportable to it, whilst every instant seems whole years. In vain does human philosophy endeavour in this condition, to make her wise man appear invulnerable and insensible: she only blows him up with vain presumption, and fills him with a force, which is indeed but cruelty. True Religion does not instruct her disciples in this manner. She does not disguise virtue under fine but chimerical appearances. She raises mankind to a state of real greatness; but that is by making them discern and confess their own weakness.

Let us hear Job, the man put to the rudest trial that ever was. He was told by messenger after messenger, almost without any interval, that his flocks and herds were destroyed, his slaves killed or taken, and at last that all his children were crushed to death and buried under the ruins of an house where they were eating together. In the midst of so many heavy unforeseen strokes, so suddenly reiterated, and so capable of shaking a soul of the greatest fortitude, no complaint escaped him. Solely intent upon the duty of that precious

moment, he submits to the decrees of providence : *Naked came I into the world, and naked shall I go out of it : the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away : blessed be the name of the Lord.* He shews the same submission and constancy after Satan had struck him with biles all over his body, and ulcers to his very marrow, whilst he suffers the most acute pains.

Does Job, in this condition, exhibit himself as a sight, or seek to attract admirers by a vain ostentation of courage ? He is far from it. He confesses that his flesh is weak, and himself nothing but weakness. He does not dispute strength with God, and owns that of himself he has neither strength, counsel, nor resource. *Is my strength the strength of stones, or is my flesh of brass ? Is there help in me ? and is not wisdom driven quite from me ?* This is not the language of Pagan philosophy, which is nothing but pride and vanity.

The Stoics made their sage a man absolutely perfect and void of passion, trouble, and defect. It was a vice with them to give the least sense of pity and compassion entrance into the heart. They deemed it the sign of a weak and even bad mind : *Miseratio est vitium pusilli animi, ad speciem alienorum malorum succidentis : itaque pessimo cuique familiarissima est.* * Compassion, continues the same Seneca, is a trouble and sadness of the mind, occasioned by the miseries of others : now the wise man is susceptible neither of trouble nor sadness. His soul enjoys always a calm serenity, which no cloud can ever discompose. How can he be moved

Job vi. 12,
13.
Senec. de
Clement.
l. 2. c. 5.

* Misericordia est ægritudo animi, ob alienarum miserationum speciem. Ægritudo autem in sapientem virum non cadit. Serena ejus mens est, nec quidquam incidere potest quod il-

lam obducat.——Hoc sapienti ne in suis quidem accidet calamitatibus, sed omnem fortunæ iram reverberabit, & ante se franget.

with

with the miseries of others, as he is not moved with his own.

The Stoics reasoned in this manner, because they did not know what man is. They destroyed nature, whilst they pretended to reform it. They reduced their sage to an idol of brass or marble, in hopes to render him firm and constant in his own misfortunes and those of others. For they were for having him equally insensible in both, and that compassion should not make him consider that as a misfortune in his neighbour, which he ought to regard as indifferent in respect to himself. They did not know, that the sentiments they strove to extinguish, were part of the nature of man, and that to root out of his heart the compassion, tenderness, and warm concern with which nature itself inspires us for what happens to our neighbour, was to destroy all the ties of human and civil society.

The chimerical idea which they formed of the supreme perfection of their wiseman, was the source from whence flowed the ridiculous opinion they laid down, that all faults were equal. I have shewn the absurdity of that maxim elsewhere.

They maintained another no less absurd, but much more dangerous, and which was a consequence of their opinion upon what constituted the supreme good of man; a just and solid opinion in some sense, but from which they made a bad inference. They* pretended, that the supreme good of man ought not to be made to consist in any of those things of which he is capable of being divested against his will, and which are not in his power; but in virtue alone, which depends solely upon himself, and of which no foreign violence can deprive him. It was very clear, that mankind could neither procure for themselves, nor pre-

* Hoc dabitur, ut opinor, si modo sit aliquid esse beatum, id oportere totum poni in po-

testate sapientis. Nam si amitti vita beata potest, beata esse non potest. *De Finib.* l. 2 n. 86.

De nat.
deor. l. 3.
n. 86—88

serve health, riches, and the other advantages of that nature: accordingly they implored the gods for the attainment and preservation of them. These advantages therefore could not compose part of the supreme good. Virtue alone had that privilege, because man is absolutely master of that, and derives it solely from himself. He gives it to himself, according to them, he preserves it himself, and has no occasion to have recourse to the gods for that, as for other good things. *Hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent, externas commoditates——à diis se habere: virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam deo retulit.* Never, said they, did any man take it into his head to thank the gods, that he was a good man, as he thanks them for riches, honours, and the health he enjoys. *Num quis, quòd bonus vir esset, gratias diis egit unquam? at quòd dives, quòd honoratus, quòd incolumis.* In a word, it is the opinion of all men, that we ought to ask God for the goods of fortune, but as to wisdom, we derive that only from ourselves. *Judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam à deo petendam, à se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam.*

They carried their frantic pride so high as to set * their sage in this view above God; because God is virtuous and exempt from passion by the necessity of his nature, whereas their wiseman is so by his own choice and will.

I shall not stop here to observe to the reader, from what I have now said, and what preceded it, into what absurdities the most esteemed and respected sect amongst the antients, and indeed in some sense the most worthy of esteem and respect, gave into. Behold what human wisdom is capable of, when abandoned to its own strength and lights, or rather its own impotence and darkness.

* Est aliquid quo sapiens antecedit Deum. Ille naturæ

beneficio non timet, suo sapiens. *Senec. Epist. 53.*

It remains for me to relate the opinion of the Peripatetics, concerning the supreme good of man.

S E C T. III.

Opinion of the Peripatetics concerning the supreme good.

IF we may believe Cicero upon this head, the difference between the Stoics and the Peripatetics upon the question of the supreme good, consists less in things than words, and that the opinions of both amounted to the same sense at bottom. He often reproaches the Stoics with having introduced rather a new language, than new doctrines, into philosophy, that they might seem to vary from those who had preceded them; which reproach appears to have sufficient foundation.

Both the one and the other agreed as to the principle, upon which the supreme good of man ought to be founded, that is to live according, or conformably, to nature : *Secundum naturam vivere*. The Peripatetics began by examining what the nature of man is, in order to laying down their principle well. Man, said they, is composed of body and soul : such is his nature. To render him perfectly happy, it is necessary to procure him all the goods both of the body and the soul : that is, to live according to nature, in which both sects agree the supreme good consists. In consequence they reckoned health, riches, reputation, and the other advantages of that kind, in the number of goods; and in that of evils, sickness, poverty, ignominy, &c. leaving however an infinite distance between virtue and all other goods, and vice and all other evils. * These goods which we place amongst those of the body, said they, make the felicity of man

* Illa, quæ sunt à nobis bonacorporis numerata, complent ea quidem beatissimam vitam,

sed ita, ut sine illis possit beatavita existeret. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 71.

perfect, and render his life compleatly happy ; but in such a manner that he is capable of being happy, though not so entirely, without them.

The Stoics thought very near the same, and gave these advantages and inconveniences of the body some weight, but they could not bear that they should be called goods and evils. If once, said De Finib. l. 3. n. 91, they, pain were to be admitted an evil, it would follow, that the wiseman, when in pain, is not happy : for felicity is incompatible with a life wherein there is any evil. People do not reason so, replied the Peripatetics, in any other respect. An estate covered with fine corn in abundance does not cease to be deemed fertile, because it produces some few bad weeds. Some small losses with considerable gains, do not hinder commerce from being reckoned very advantageous. In every thing, the more outweighs the less, and is the rule of judging. It is thus in respect to virtue. † Put it into one scale, and the whole world into the other, virtue will always be infinitely the most weighty : a magnificent idea of virtue this !

I should think it abusing the reader's patience, if I bestowed more time in refuting these subtleties, and bad chicane of the Stoics. I only desire him to remember what I have observed from the beginning, that in this question concerning the supreme good of man, the philosophers, of whatever sect they were, considered that good only in respect to this life. The goods of eternity were either unknown, or indifferent to them.

† Audebo — virtutis amplitudinem quasi in altera libra lance ponere. Terram,

mihi crede, ea lanx & maria deprimet.

ARTICLE II.

Opinions of the antient philosophers upon the virtues and duties of life.

“ **T**HOUGH philosophy, says Cicero, be Offic. 1. 3.
 “ a region wherein there are no uncultivated n. 5.
 “ lands, and though it is fertile and abundant from
 “ one end to the other, there is no part of it more
 “ rich than that which treats of the duties of life,
 “ and lays down rules and precepts for giving our
 “ manners a certain and constant tenor, and
 “ making us live according to the laws of reason
 “ and virtue.” It is true that excellent maxims,
 and such as might make us blush, are to be found
 upon this head amongst the Pagans. I shall re-
 peat some of them from Plato and Cicero, con-
 fining myself more to the thoughts than expressions
 of the former.

*The end of government is to make the governed happy,
 in making them virtuous.*

The first care of every man charged with the Plat. de
 government of others, (which includes all per- Leg. 1. 12.
 sons in general, whose function it is to command, p. 961, 963.
 kings, princes, generals, ministers, governors of
 provinces, magistrates, judges, and fathers of fa-
 milies :) the first care I say of whoever is in any
 kind of authority, is to lay down well the end he
 ought to propose to himself in the use of that au-
 thority.

What is the end of a man charged with the go- In Alcib.
 vernment of a state ? It is not, says Plato in more p. 134.
 than one place, to render it rich, opulent, and pow- De Legib.
 erful ; to make it abound with gold and silver ; to l. 5. p. 742.
 extend its dominion far and wide ; to keep up
 great fleets and armies in it, and thereby render it
 superior to all others by sea and land. It is easy
 to perceive that Athens is intended here. He pro-
 poses

poses something much greater and more solid to himself : that is, to make it happy by making it virtuous ; and it can only be so by sincere piety and profound submission in regard to God.

Ib. p.420. When we speak, says he elsewhere, of an happy city or republic, we do not pretend to confine that felicity only to some particulars, its principal persons, nobility, and magistrates : we understand, that all the members of such city or republic are happy, each in their several conditions and degrees ; and in this the essential duty of a person charged with the government of it consists.

Ib. p.964. It is the same with a city or state, as with the human body. This comparison is entirely just, and abounds with consequences. The body consists of the head and the members, amongst which members some are more noble, more conspicuous, and more necessary than others. Can the body be said to be in health, and good condition, when the least and meanest of the members is diseased and out of order ?

De Rep. l.2. p.369, 374. Between all the inhabitants of a city, there is a mutual relation of wants and assistance, that forms an admirable tie of dependance amongst them. The prince, the magistrates, and the rich have occasion for food, cloaths, and lodging. What would they do, if there were not an inferior order of people to supply them with all those necessaries ? This Providence has taken care of, says Plato, in establishing the different orders and conditions of men by the means of necessity. If all were rich, there would be neither husbandmen, masons, nor artificers : and if all poor, there would be no princes, magistrates, and generals of armies, to govern and defend the rest. It was this mutual dependance that formed states, and within the compass of the same walls assembled and united a multitude of men of different trades and occupations, all necessary to the public good, and of whom in
confe-

consequence none ought to be neglected, and still less despised by him who governs. From this multiplicity of talents, conditions, trades and employments, reduced in some measure to unity by this mutual communication and tendency to the same end, results an order, harmony, and concert of wonderful beauty, but which always supposes, that, for the perfection of the whole, it is necessary that each part should have its perfection and ornament.

To return to the comparison of a city or state to the human body, the prince is as the head or soul of it; the ministers, magistrates, generals of armies, and other officers appointed to execute his orders, are his eyes, arms, and feet. It is the prince, who is to animate them, put them in motion, and direct their actions. The head is the seat of the understanding; and it is the understanding that regulates the use of the senses, moves the members, and is watchful for their preservation, well-being, and health. Plato uses here the comparison of a pilot, in whose head alone lies the knowledge of steering the vessel, and to whose ability the safety of all on board is confided. How happy is a state, whose prince speaks and acts in this manner!

Ib. l. 2. p.
961—964

Whoever is charged with the care of others, ought to be firmly convinced, that he is designed for inferiors, and not inferiors for him.

To be convinced of this principle, we have only in my opinion to consult good sense, right reason, and even common experience. It however seldom happens that superiors are truly convinced of it, and make it the rule of their conduct.

Plato, to set this principle in full light, begins by introducing one Thrasymachus into the dialogue, who pleads the cause, or rather makes the apology, of a corrupt government. This man pretends, that in every government, That ought to be considered as just, which is for the advantage of the

De Rep.
l. 2. p.
338, &c.

the government : That he who commands, and is in office, is not so for others, but for himself : That his will ought to be the rule of all under him : That if strict justice were to be observed, Superiors of all men were the most to be pitied, having for their lot only the cares and anxieties of government, without being in a condition to advance their families, serve their friends, or comply with any recommendation, as they would be bound to act in all things according to the principles of exact and severe justice.

There are few, or rather none, who talk in this manner : but only too many reduce it to practice, and make it the rule of their conduct.

Plato refutes at large all this wretched reasoning, and, according to his custom, makes use of comparisons taken from the common uses of life : I shall content myself here with the following single proof, to shew that those who command are designed for their inferiors, and not their inferiors for those who command.

A pilot takes upon himself the care of a ship with a great number of persons on board, whom different views and interests induce to go to a foreign country. Did it ever enter into the thoughts of any reasonable man to imagine, that the passengers were for the pilot, and not the pilot for the passengers ? Would any one venture to say, that the sick whom a physician takes care of are for him ? And is it not evident that physicians, as well as the art of physic, are intended solely for restoring health to the sick ? Princes are often represented by the antients under the idea of *the shepherds of the people*. The shepherd is certainly for his flock, and nobody is so unreasonable to pretend, that the flock is for the shepherd.

Ποιμὲν
λαῶν.

It is from this doctrine of Plato, that the Roman orator borrowed the important maxim, which he strongly inculcates to Quinctus Cicero his brother

ther in the admirable letter, wherein he gives him advice for his good conduct in the government of Asia, which had been confided to his care. * *As for me*, says he, *I am convinced that the sole end and attention of those in authority ought to be, to render all under them as happy as possible—And not only*, adds he, *those who govern citizens and allies, but whoever has the care of slaves, and even of beasts, ought to procure them all the good and convenience they can, and make their advantage their whole care.*

The natural consequence of this principle, That Plat. de Rep. l. 1. all superiors, without exception, are established for the good of those under them, is, that their sole view P. 347. Ibid. l. 7. in the use of their power and authority ought to be p. 520, 521. the public good. Hence also it follows, that only persons of worth should have great employments; that they should even enter upon them against their will; and that it should be necessary to use a kind of violence to oblige them to accept such offices. And indeed places, wherein nothing is to be seen but pains, labour, and difficulty, are not so desirable as to be fought or solicited. However, says Plato, nothing is more common in our days than to make interest for posts, and to pretend to the highest employments, without any other merit, than an ambition that knows no bounds, and a blind esteem for one's self: and this abuse it is, that occasions the misfortunes of states and kingdoms, and terminates at length in their ruin.

* Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda ab iis qui præsumt aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperiis erunt sint quam beatissimi—Est autem, non modò ejus qui sociis & ci-

vibus, sed etiam ejus qui servis, qui mutis pecudibus præsit, eorum quibus præsit commodis utilitatique servire. *Cic. Epist. 1. ad Q. Fratr.*

Justice and the faith of engagements are the foundations of society. Sanctity of oaths.

Cic. offic. 1. 1. n. 20, 21. The firmest tie of society is justice, and the foundation of justice is fidelity to engagements, which faith consists in the inviolable observance of promises given, and treaties made.

Offic. 1. 1. n. 41. Injustice can assume only two different forms, of which the one resembles the fox, and is that of artifice and fraud; and the other the lion, which is that of violence. Both the one and the other are equally unworthy of man, and contrary to his nature: but the most odious and detestable is that of fraud and perfidy, especially when it covers the blackest practices with the outside of probity.

* All kinds of fraud and artifice should be banished from the commerce of mankind, with that malignant cunning of address, that covers and adorns itself with the name of prudence, but which in reality is infinitely remote from it, and suits † only double-dealing, dark, knavish, malicious, artificial, perfidious people: for all those odious and detestable names scarce suffice to express the character of such as renounce sincerity and truth in the commerce of life.

By what name then must we call those, who make a jest of the sanctity of oaths, || which are solemn and religious affirmations, made in the presence, and before the eyes of God, whom we call to witness to them, whom we render in some measure the guarantee for their truth, and who will

* Quocirca astutiæ tollendæ sunt, eaque malitia, quæ vult illa quidem se esse prudentiam, sed abest ab ea, distatque plurimum. *Lib. 3. n. 71.*

† Hoc genus est hominis versuti, obscuri, astuti, fallacis,

malitiosi, callidi, veteratoris, vafri. *Ibid. n. 57.*

|| Est jusjurandum affirmatio religiosa. Quod autem affirmatè, quasi Deo teste, promiseris, id tenendum est. *Ibid. n. 104.*

undoubtedly avenge the sacrilegious abuse of his name?

The regard due to the Divinity, could not, according to Plato, be carried too far in this respect. De Leg. l. 12. p. 948, 949. It was from this principle he desired that, in trials wherein only temporal interests were concerned, the judges should not require any oath from the parties, in order that they might not be tempted to take false ones, as it happens, says he, with more than half those who are obliged to swear; it being very uncommon and difficult for a man, when his estate, reputation, or life are at stake, to have so great a reverence for the name of God, as not to venture to take it in vain. This delicacy is remarkable in a Pagan, and well worth our serious reflection.

Plato goes still farther. He declares, that not only to swear slightly, and without any important reason, but to use the name of God in familiar discourse and conversation, is to dishonour, and to be wanting in the respect due to the divine Majesty. He would therefore have been far from approving a custom, now very common even amongst persons of worth, of calling frequently upon the name of God, when nothing is less in question than religion. Ib. n. 917.

Different duties of civil life. Fine maxims upon virtue.

Every one ought to consider the common good as the great end of his actions. For should men know no good but private interest, and be for engrossing every thing to themselves, no kind of society could subsist amongst them. Offic. l. 3. n. 26.

Every thing upon earth was created for the use of man, and men themselves were formed for one another, and for the aid of each other by reciprocal services. Hence we are not to believe, that we were born only for ourselves. Our country, our

fathers, mothers, and friends, have a right to whatever we are, and it is our duty to procure them all the advantages in our power.

It is upon these principles of our duty to justice and society, that the Stoics determine many questions of moral philosophy in a manner, that condemns abundance of Christian casuists.

Ib. n. 50, &c. At the time of a famine, a merchant arrives first in a port laden with corn, followed by many others with the same freight. Ought he to declare, that the rest will soon be there ; or is it allowable for him to be silent about them, in order to make the better market for himself? The decision is, that he ought to declare it ; because so the good of human society for which he is born requires.

Ib. n. 91. A man receives bad money in payment. May he give it to others for good, knowing it to be counterfeit ? He cannot, as an honest man.

Ib. n. 92. Another sells an ingot of gold taking it for brass. Is the buyer obliged to tell the seller that it is gold, or may he take advantage of the other's ignorance, and buy that for a crown, which is perhaps worth a thousand ? He cannot in conscience.

Plat. in Criton. P. 49. * It is an indisputable maxim, says Plato, which ought to serve as a foundation for the whole conduct of civil life, that it is never allowable to hurt any one, nor consequently to return evil for evil, injury for injury, or to take revenge of our enemies, and to make the same misfortunes fall upon them, which they have made us suffer. And this is what right reason teaches us. But the Pagans are not steady upon this refined point of morality. “ He is a good man, says Cicero, who “ does all the good in his power, and hurts no-
Offic. l. 3. n. 76. “ body, unless provoked by injury.” *Virum bonum esse, qui pro sit quibus possit ; noceat nemini, nisi laceratus injuria.*

* Ἀρχαίμεθα ἐντεῦθεν βεβαι- ἔτε τε ἀδικεῖν, ἔτε κακῶς πάρον-
οῖμεν, ὡς ἂν ποτε ὀρθῶς ἔχοντες τα ἀμύνεσθαι ἀντιδρῶντας κακῶς.

One of the laws of Plato's commonwealth is, *De Legib.*
that money should never be lent with usury. l. 5. p.

The goods of another are never to be appropri-
ated to one's own use. "If I had found a treasure, *742.*
Ib. l. 11. p. 913.

"says Plato, I would not touch it, though the au-
gurs upon being consulted should assure me
that I might apply it to my own use. That trea-
sure in our coffers, is not of so much value as the
progress we make in virtue and justice, when
we have the courage to despise it. Besides, if
we appropriate it to our own use, it is a source
of curses to our family."

He judges in the same manner of a thing found *Ib.* p. 914.
in one's way.

All other good things, without virtue, ought to *In Menex.*
be regarded as real evils. And * this virtue is p. 246.
neither the gift of nature, the fruit of study, nor *In Menon*
the growth of human wit, but an inestimable blef- p. 99.
sing, which God confers on whom he pleases.

*Contrast between a good man under a load of evils,
and a wicked man in the highest affluence and good
fortune.*

Plato supposes two men, very different in the
world's thoughts and treatment of them. The one
consummately wicked, without either faith, pro-
bity, or honour, but wearing the mask of all those
virtues; the other a perfectly good man, (I mean
according to the idea of the Pagans) who has no
thoughts but to be, not to seem, just.

† The first, for the attainment of his ends,
spares

* Εἰ καλῶς ἐζητήσωμεν, ἀρετὴ
ἂν εἴη ἢ τε φύσει. ἢ τε διδακτόν.
ἀλλὰ θεῖα μοῖρα παραγίγ-
μένη ἄνευ νῆ, οἷς ἂν παραγίγ-
νεται.

† Quæro, si duo sint, quo-
rum alter optimus vir, æquis-
simus, summa justitia, singu-

lari fide; alter insignis scelere
& audacia: &, si in eo errore
sit civitas, ut bonum illum vi-
rum sceleratum, facinorosum,
nefarium putet: contra autem
qui sit improbissimus, existi-
met esse summa probitate ac
fide; proque hac opinione om-
nium

s pares neither fraud, injustice, nor calumny, and reckons the greatest crimes as nothing, provided he can but conceal them. With an outside of religion, he affects to adore the gods with pomp and splendor, offering presents and sacrifices to them in greater number, and with more magnificence than any body. By this means deceiving the dim sight of men, that cannot pierce into the heart, he succeeds in heaping up riches, honours, esteem, reputation, powerful establishments, and multiplying advantageous marriages for himself and his children; in a word, whatever the most splendid fortune includes of most soothing and beneficial.

The second, in a supreme degree the good man, simple, modest, reserved, solely intent upon his duty, inviolably attached to justice, far from being honoured and rewarded as he would deserve, (in which case, says Plato, it could not be discerned whether virtue itself, or the honours and rewards consequential of it, were his motives) is universally in disgrace, blackened with the most odious calumnies, looked upon as the vilest of wretches, * abandoned to the most cruel and ignominious treatment, *thrown into prison, scourged, wounded, and at last nailed to a cross*; whilst he chooses rather to undergo the most cruel torments, than to renounce justice and innocence. Is there any one, cries Cicero, so stupid as to hesitate one

nium civium, bonus ille vir vexetur, rapiatur, manus ei denique auferantur, effodiantur oculi, damnetur, vinciatur, uratur, exterminetur, egeat, postremò jure etiam optimo omnibus miserrimus esse videatur; contrà autem, ille improbus laudetur, colatur, ab omnibus diligatur; omnes ad eum honores, omnia imperia, omnes opes, omnes denique copiarum conferantur; vir denique op-

timus omnium existimatione, & dignissimus omni fortuna judicetur: quis tandem erit tam demens, qui dubitet utrum se esse malit? *Cic. apud Laëtant. divin. Instit. l. 5. c. 12.*

* Οὗτο διακρίνεται ὁ δίκαιος μασιγῶσεται, σφελῶσεται, δεῖσθεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τελευτῶν, πάντα κακὰ παθὼν, ἀναγνῶλευσθήσεται. Id est, suspenditur.

moment,

moment, which of these two he would rather chuse to resemble ?

We are surprized to find sentiments so noble, so exalted, and so conformable to right reason and justice, amongst the Pagans. We should remember, that notwithstanding the general corruption and darkness which had overspread the Pagan world, the light of the Eternal Word did not fail to shine out to a certain degree in their minds : *And the light shineth in darkness.* It is that light, Joh. i. 5. which discovers and makes known to them various truths, and the principles of the law of nature. It is that light, which writes it in their hearts, and gives them the discernment of many things just and unjust : which makes St. Augustine say, *Let* In libro *the wicked see in THE BOOK OF THE LIGHT in what* lucis. *manner they ought to live.*

Now, when we see in Greece crowds of learned men, a people of philosophers, who succeed one another during four entire ages ; who employ themselves solely in enquiring after truth ; who most of them for succeeding the better therein, renounce their fortunes, country, settlement, and all other employments except that of applying to the study of wisdom : Can we believe so singular and even unexampled an event, which never happened in any other part or time of the world, the effect of chance, and that Providence had neither any share in it, nor intended it for any end ? It had not destined the philosophers to reform the errors of mankind. Those great wits disputed four hundred years almost without agreeing upon, and concluding any thing. None of their schools undertook to prove the unity of the Godhead, none of them ever so much as thought of advancing the necessity of a Mediator. But how useful were their moral precepts upon the virtues and duties, in preventing the inundation of vice ? What horrid disorders had taken place, had the Epicureans been the pre-

Rom. i.
19.

vailing and only sect? How much did their enquiries contribute to the preservation of the important doctrines of the distinction between matter and mind, of the immortality of the soul, and the existence of a Supreme Being? Many of them had admirable principles upon all these points *which God had made known unto them*, preferable to so many other people whom he left in barbarity and ignorance.

St. Au-
gustin.

As this knowledge of theirs, and the virtuous actions consequential of it, may be considered under a double point of view, it ought also to produce two quite different effects in us. If we consider it as an emanation of that eternal light, *which shineth even in darkness*, who can doubt whether it be worthy of our esteem and admiration? But if we consider it in the principle from whence it proceeded, and the abuse made of it by the Pagans, it cannot be praised without reserve and exception. It is by the same rule we are to judge of all that we read in profane history. The most shining actions of virtue which it relates, are always infinitely remote from pure and real virtue, because not directed to their principle, and having their root in cupidity; that is to say, pride and self-love. *Radicata est cupiditas: species potest esse bonorum factorum, verè opera bona esse non possunt.* The root is not judged by the branches, but the branches by the root. The blossoms and even fruit may seem like; but their root is highly different. *Noli attendere quod floret foris, sed quæ radix est interna.* Not what these actions have of real, but what is defective in them, ought to be condemned. It is not what they have, but what they want, that makes them vicious. And what they want is Charity, that inestimable gift, of which the want cannot be supplied by any other, and which is not to be found out of the Christian Church and the true religion. Accordingly we see, that none of the
Pagans,

Pagans, who in other respects have laid down very fine rules of duty between man and man, have made the love of God the fundamental principle of their morality : none of them have taught the necessity of directing the actions of human probity to him. They knew the branches, but not the stem and trunk of moral perfection.

ARTICLE III.

Of Jurisprudence, or the Civil Law.

I Annex the knowledge of laws to moral philosophy, of which it is a part, or at least to which it has a great relation. It is a subject of great extent, but I shall treat it very succinctly. The memoirs with which an able professor of law, Mr. Lorry, one of my very good friends, has supplied me, have been of great use to me.

By the knowledge of the law, I mean the knowledge of Right, of Laws in general. Every people have had their particular laws and legislators. Moses is the most antient of them all : God himself dictated the laws it was his will that his people should observe. Mercurius Trismegistus amongst the Egyptians, Minos amongst the inhabitants of the island of Crete, Pythagoras amongst the cities of Great Greece, Charondas and Zaleucus in the same country, Lycurgus at Sparta, and Draco and Solon at Athens, are the most celebrated Legislators of Pagan antiquity. As I have spoken of them with sufficient extent in the course of this history, I proceed directly to the Romans.

The beginnings of the Roman civil law were little extensive. Under the kings, Rome had only a small number of laws, which were proposed at first by the senate, and afterwards confirmed in the assembly of the people. Papirius, who lived in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, was the first that collected the laws made by the kings into one body.

dy. That collection was called, from the name of its author, *Jus Papirianum*, *The Papirian law*.

The commonwealth, after having abolished the power of kings, retained their laws for some time ; but they were afterwards expressly abolished by the Tribunitian law in hatred to the name of kings. From that time it used an uncertain kind of Right till the twelve tables, which were prepared by the Decemviri, and composed out of the laws of Athens and the principal cities of Greece, into which deputies had been sent to collect such as they should judge the wisest and best adapted to a republican government. * These laws were the foundation and source of the whole Roman civil law : and Cicero † is not afraid to prefer them infinitely to all the writings and books of the philosophers, as well in respect to the weight of their authority, as the extent of the utility deducible from them.

The brevity, and at the same time the severity, of the law of the twelve tables, made way for the interpretation of the learned, and the prætor's Edicts. The first employed themselves in explaining their spirit and intention : the second in softening their rigour, and supplying what might have been omitted.

The laws, in process of time, having multiplied to infinity in a manner, the study of them became absolutely necessary, and at the same time very difficult. Persons of birth, capacity, learning, and love for the public good, distinguished by the name of Civilians, applied wholly to this study. The young Romans, who designed to open themselves

* Qui nunc quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique est juris. *Liv. l. 3. n. 34.*

† Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod sentio. *Bibliothecas*

meherculè omnium philosophorum unus mihi videtur XII tabularum libellus, si quis legum fontes & capita viderit, & auctoritatis pondere, & utilitatis ubertate superare. *De Orat. l. 1. n. 195.*

a way to the great offices of the commonwealth by the talent of eloquence, which was the first step to them, went to the houses of these civilians in order to acquire their first knowledge of the law, without which it was not possible for them to succeed at the bar. || Private persons in all their affairs had recourse to them, and their houses were regarded as the oracles of the whole city, from whence answers were brought, which determined doubts, calmed disquiets, and directed the methods it was necessary to take in the prosecution of all suits.

These answers were no more than opinions, which might inform the judges, but imposed no necessity upon them of following them. Augustus was the first who gave them more authority, in appointing civilians himself, that were no longer limited to serve as council to particulars, but were held the emperor's officers. From thenceforth, their opinions reduced to writing, and sealed with the public authority, had the force of laws, to which the Emperors obliged the judges to conform.

These civilians published various works under different titles, which have contributed exceedingly to reducing the knowledge of the civil law into art and method.

These laws, in process of time, multiplied extremely, and made way for doubts and difficulties by contradictions supposed or real. In such cases recourse was had to the prince, who gave the solution of them. He adjudged also by decrees the causes referred to him by appeal, and answered by rescripts all the consultations addressed to him by petition or memorial. And from thence

|| Est sine dubio domus jurisconsulti totius oraculum civitatis, unde cives sibi consilium expetant suarum rerum incerti: quos ego (it is Crassus that speaks)

mea ope ex incertis certos componesque consilii dimitto, ut ne res temerè traçant turbidas. De Orat. l. 1. n. 199, 200.

partly came the Constitutions of the Emperors, so full of wisdom and equity, from which the body of the Roman or Civil law has been formed.

To form these decisions with the greater maturity, they called in the assistance of the most learned civilians, and did not give their answers, till after having concerted them well with all the persons in the empire who were best versed in the laws and rights of the public.

I shall say a few words in this place upon the most celebrated civil lawyers of the later times.

A.D. 205. PAPINIAN (*Æmilius*) was in great consideration with the emperor Severus, whom he had succeeded in the office of Fiscal advocate. He was looked upon as the asylum of the laws, and the repository of the whole knowledge of them. The emperor Valentinian III. raised him above all the civilians, in ordaining by his law of the 7th of November 426, that when they were divided upon any point, they should follow the opinion espoused by that eminent genius, as he calls him. And indeed Cujas judges him the most profound civilian that ever was, or ever will be.

Cod. Th. 1.T.4.l.1.
Cuj. in Cod. Th.

The Emperor Severus, being willing to raise his great merit to equal dignity, made him *Præfæctus prætorio*, of which one of the principal functions was to judge causes jointly with the emperor, or in his name. Papinian, to acquit himself the better in that office, took Paulus and Ulpian for his counsellors and judges assistant, whose names are also very famous amongst the civilians.

Severus, at his death, left two sons, Caracalla and Geta. Though they had both the name, Dio. l. 77. p. 870, &c. assures us that only Caracalla had the power, of emperor, who soon ridded himself of his colleague in the most cruel and barbarous manner conceivable; for he caused him to be assassinated in the arms of their common mother, and, according to some, killed him with his own hands.

Caracalla

Caracalla murdered all whom his brother had loved, and who had either served or retained to him, without distinction of age, sex, or quality; and Dion says, that he began with twenty thousand of his domestics and soldiers. To mention or write the name of Geta sufficed for being immediately butchered; so that the poets dared not use it even in comedies, where it was commonly given to slaves. Cæsariani.

Papinian could not escape his cruelty. It is said, that Caracalla would have obliged him to compose a discourse to excuse the death of Geta either to the senate or people, and that he generously replied: *It is not so easy to excuse, as to commit, parricide*; and, *To accuse an innocent person, after having deprived him of his life, is a second parricide*. He remembered without doubt, that Seneca had been very much blamed, for having composed a letter for Nero to the senate, to justify the assassination of his mother. The son of Papinian, who was then quæstor, and had three days before exhibited magnificent games, was also killed. Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 11.

FABIUS SABINUS. The Emperor Heliogabalus A.D. 221. having ordered a centurion to go and kill Sabinus, that officer, who was a little deaf, believed that he had bade him make Sabinus quit the city. The centurion's error saved the life of Sabinus, who passed for the Cato of his times. The Emperor Alexander, who succeeded Heliogabalus, placed him in the number of those next his person, and whose counsel he took for governing wisely. A.D. 222.

ULPIAN (*Domitius Ulpianus*) descended originally from the city of Tyre. He had been counsellor, and judge assistant to Papinian, in the time of Severus. When Alexander came to the empire, he placed him near his person, in quality of counsellor of state, and to take care of all things referred to his judgment, which employment is evidently Scrini-
rum ma-
gister.

dently that since called Great Referendary. He afterwards made him *Præfectus prætorio*.

In Alex.
vit.

Lampridius places him at the head of those wise, learned, and faithful persons, who composed Alexander's council; and assures us that prince paid him greater deference than any body else, upon account of his extraordinary love of justice; that he conversed only with him in private; that he looked upon him as his tutor: and that he proved an excellent Emperor, from making great use of Ulpian's counsels in the government of the empire.

As Ulpian endeavoured to re-establish discipline amongst the Prætorian soldiers, they rose against him, and demanded his death of Alexander. Instead of granting their request, he often covered him with his purple robe, to defend him against the effects of their fury. At length, having attacked him in the night, he was obliged to fly to the palace to implore the aid of Alexander and Mammæa. But all the awe of the imperial authority could not save him, and he was killed by the soldiers even in the sight of Alexander. Several of Ulpian's works are still extant.

In Alex.
vit.

PAULUS. (*Julius Paulus*.) He was of Padua, where his statue is still to be seen. He was nominated consul under Alexander, and then *Præfectus prætorio*. He, as well as Sabinus and Ulpian, was of the council formed by Mammæa the mother, and Mæsa the grandmother, of Alexander, to administer the public affairs during the minority of that prince. Every body knows the great services they did, and the reputation they acquired, him. The Roman empire had at that time every thing that could render a state happy, a very good prince, and excellent ministers: for the one is of small utility without the other; and perhaps it is even more dangerous to the people, to have a prince good of himself, but who suffers himself to

be deceived by bad men, than to have one more wicked, who however inspects into the conduct of his officers, and obliges them to do their duty. Alexander always set great value upon the merit of Paulus, who is said to have wrote more than any other civilian.

POMPONIUS was also of Alexander's court and council. How happy was this reign! As he lived to the age of seventy-eight, he composed a great number of works. Amongst the rest, he made a collection of all the famous civilians down to the Emperor Julian.

MODESTINUS (*Herennius*) lived also in the reign of Alexander, who raised him to the consulship. He, as well as the four preceding lawyers, was Papinian's disciple, whose care formed them all in the knowledge of the civil law. What services does a single man sometimes render a state by his learning and pupils!

TRIBONIAN was of Pamphilia. He was honoured with the first employments at Constantinople by the emperor Justinian. It was under that prince, and by his care, that the civil law took a new form, and was reduced into an order, that still subsists, and will for ever do him honour.

Before him, there were many *Codes*, which were either compiled from, or abridgments of, the Roman laws. Gregorius and Hermogenes, two civilians, made a collection of laws, which from their names was called *The Gregorian and Hermogenian Code*. It was a collection of the Constitutions of the Emperors, from Adrian down to Dioclesian and Maximin in 306. This work was of no use, for want of authority to cause it to be observed. The Emperor Theodosius the Younger was the first who composed a *Code* in sixteen books, consisting of the Constitutions of the Emperors from Constantine the Great down to him; and he abrogated all laws

laws not comprised in this system, which is called *The Theodosian Code*, and was published in 438.

And lastly, the Emperor Justinian, seeing the authority of the Roman law much weakened in the West, from the decline of the empire, resolved to cause the whole body of the Roman law to be compiled a-new. He charged Tribonian with this commission, who called in the aid of the most learned civilians then in being. He chose the finest of the Imperial Constitutions from Adrian down to his own time, and published this new *Code* in 529.

He afterwards undertook a new work by order of the emperor: this was to extract the finest decisions from the two thousand volumes of the ancient civilians, and to reduce them into one body, which was published in 533, under the name of *The Digest*. The Emperor gave this collection the force of law by the letter which he placed in front of the work, and which serves it for a preface. It is called also *The Pandect*. The Digest consists of fifty books.

The same year appeared the *Institutes* of Justinian, a book which contains the elements and principles of the Roman or civil law.

The year following, that is to say in 534, the emperor made some alterations in his first Code, which he abolished, and substituted a new one in its stead, to which alone he gave the authority of law.

And lastly, after this revival, Justinian published an hundred and sixty-five constitutions, and thirteen edicts, which are called *Novellæ*, the *Novels*, either because they make a considerable change in the ancient law; or, according to Cujas, because they were made upon new cases, and compiled after the revival of the Code by the order of that emperor. Most of the *Novels* were wrote in Greek, and were translated into Latin.

The body of the civil law therefore consists of four parts, the Code, the Digest, the Institutes, and the Novels. By the *Civil Law*, the Institutes understand the laws peculiar to each city or people. But at present it is properly the Roman law, contained in the Institutes, the Digest, and the Code. It is otherwise called *the Written Law*.

From all that I have now said may be seen, what services a prince may render his people, who applies himself seriously to the cares of government, and who is well convinced of the extent and importance of his duties. Justinian had been very successful in the wars he had undertaken, and had * the wisdom to ascribe that success neither to the number of his troops, the courage of his soldiers, the experience of his generals, nor his own talents and abilities; but solely to the protection with which God had vouchsafed to favour his arms. But, had he contented himself with this military glory, he would have thought, that he had only half discharged the functions of sovereignty, which was principally established for rendering justice to the people in the name and place of God himself. Accordingly he declares expressly in a public edict, that the † Imperial Majesty ought not to be adorned with arms only, but armed also with laws, for the good government of the people, as well in peace as war.

Accordingly, after having restored peace to the provinces of the empire as a warrior, he turned his thoughts to the regulation of its polity as a le-

* Ita nostros animos Dei omnipotentis erigimus adjutorium, ut neque armis confidamus, neque nostris militibus, neque bellorum ducibus, vel nostro ingenio; sed omnem spem ad solam referamus summæ providentiæ trinitatis. *Epist. ad Trebon.*

† Imperatoriam majestatem non solum armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam, ut utrumque tempus, & bellorum & pacis, recte possit gubernari. *Epist. ad cupidam legum juventutem.*

gislator,

gillator, by instituting an universal body of law, to serve as the rule of all tribunals: a work which had been much the object of the wishes of his predecessors, as himself observes in more than one place, but which seemed attended with so many difficulties, that they had always believed it impracticable. He surmounted them all with a constancy, that nothing was capable of discouraging.

For succeeding in this important enterprize he employed all the most learned civilians in the whole extent of the empire, * presiding himself in the work, and revising exactly all they composed. Far from ascribing the honour of it to himself, as is usual enough, he does them all justice; he mentions them with praises, he extols their erudition, he treats them almost as his colleagues, and recommends it as a duty, to thank the Divine Providence for having supplied him with such aids, and for having honoured his reign by the composition of a work so long desired, and so useful and necessary for the due administration of justice. An Emperor, of less zeal for the public good, and less liberality, than Justinian, would have left all those civilians in obscurity and inaction. How many excellent talents of all kinds remain buried, for want of patrons to produce them! The learned are not wanting to princes, but princes to the learned.

The great qualities and actions of Justinian would have recommended him for ever to the veneration of mankind, if his conduct in respect to Ecclesiastical affairs had not sullied his glory.

I shall conclude this article upon the knowledge of civil law, with some extracts from laws, that

* *Nostra quoque majestas semper investigando & perscrutando ea quæ ab his componebantur, quicquid dubium & in-*

certum inveniebatur—emen-
dabat, & in competentem formam redigebat. Epist. ad senat.
Et omnes populos.

may give the reader an idea of the beauty and solidity of the different Institutions of which I have been speaking.

Digna vox est majestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri : adeo de auctoritate juris nostra pendet auctoritas. Et, re vera, majus imperio est summittere legibus principatum ; & oraculo præsentis Edicti, quod nobis licere non patimur, aliis indicamus. “ It is worthy of the majesty of a prince to declare himself bound and limited by the laws : so much does our authority depend on Right and Justice. And indeed to submit the sovereign power to the laws, is greater than to exercise it ; wherefore we are well satisfied to make known to others, by the present edict, what we do not think lawful for us to do.” It is an Emperor, master of almost the universe, who speaks thus, and who is not afraid of hurting his authority, by declaring the just bounds by which it is limited.

Rescripta contra jus elicita, ab omnibus Judicibus refutari præcipimus ; nisi fortè sit aliquid, quod non lædat alium, & pro fit petenti, vel crimen supplicantibus indulgeat. “ We ordain, that no judge shall have any regard to rescripts obtained from us contrary to justice, unless they tend to granting some grace to petitioners not to the hurt of others, or to remitting some punishment to suppliants.” It is very uncommon for princes either to own that they have deceived themselves, or been deceived by others, and to retract in consequence what they have once decreed. Nothing however does them more honour than such an acknowledgment, as we see in the example of Artaxerxes, who publicly revoked the unjust Decree he had been misled into passing against the Jews.

Scire leges, non hoc est verba earum tenere, sed vim ac potestatem. “ To know the laws, is not
“ only

“ only to understand the words of which they are
 “ composed, but their force and efficacy.”

Non dubium est in legem committere eum, qui verba legis amplexus, contra legis nititur voluntatem ; nec pœnas insertas legibus evitabit, qui se contra juris sententiam sæva prærogativa verborum fraudulenter excusat. “ It is not to be doubted, but that he
 “ acts contrary to the law, who confining himself
 “ to the letter, acts contrary to the spirit and in-
 “ tent of it ; and whoever, to excuse himself, en-
 “ deavours fraudulently to elude the true sense of a
 “ law by a rigorous attachment to the words of
 “ it, shall not escape its penalties by such preva-
 “ rication.”

Nulla juris ratio, aut æquitatis benignitas patitur, ut, quæ salubriter pro utilitate hominum introducuntur, ea nos duriore interpretatione contra ipsorum commodum producamus ad severitatem. “ It is contrary
 “ to all justice and equity, that those things which
 “ have been wisely instituted for the good of man-
 “ kind, should be wrested to their prejudice by
 “ a mistaken severity and a too rigid interpreta-
 “ tion.”

Observandum est jus reddenti, ut in adeundo quidem facilem se præbeat, sed contemni non patiatur. Unde mandatis adjicitur, ne in ulteriorem familiaritatem provinciales admittant : nam ex conversatione æquali contemptio dignitatis nascitur. Sed & in cognoscendo, neque excandescere adversus eos quos malos putat, neque precibus calamitosorum illachrymari oportet. Id enim non est constantis & recti Judicis, cujus animi motum vultus detegit ; & summatim ita jus reddi debet, ut auctoritatem dignitatis ingenio suo augeat.”

“ The person who administers justice, ought indeed
 “ to be easy of access, but should not suffer him-
 “ self to be despised by making himself too cheap.
 “ Hence it is, that in the instructions given to pro-
 “ vincial governors and magistrates, it is recom-
 “ mended

“ mended to them, not to admit the people of
 “ their provinces into too great a degree of fami-
 “ liarity, because conversing as equals induces
 “ contempt of dignity. In rendering justice, he
 “ ought also neither to express great indignation
 “ against such as he believes criminal, nor suffer
 “ himself to be softened too much by the prayers
 “ of the unfortunate. For it does not become the
 “ constancy and gravity of an upright judge, to
 “ discover the sentiments of his heart in his coun-
 “ tenance : in a word, he ought to dispense justice
 “ in such a manner, as to exalt the authority of
 “ his office by the wisdom and moderation of his
 “ conduct.”

Quæ sub conditione jurisjurandi relinquuntur, à Ulpianus. Prætor reprobantur. Provitit enim is qui sub jurisjurandi conditione quid accepit, aut omittendo conditionem perderet hereditatem legatumve, aut cogeretur turpiter, accipiendo conditionem, jurare. Voluit ergo eum, cui sub jurisjurandi conditione quid relictum est, ita capere, ut capiunt hi, quibus nulla talis jurisjurandi conditio inferitur : Et rectè. Cum enim faciles sint nonnulli hominum ad jurandum contemptu religionis, alii perquam timidi metu divini Numinis usque ad superstitionem : ne vel hi, vel illi, aut consequerentur, aut perderent quod relictum est, Prætor consultissimè intervenit. The tendency of this law is admirable. It dispences with a person's taking an oath, to whom an estate or legacy has been left upon condition of taking such oath ; and ordains, that he shall enjoy such estate or legacy, as if such condition had not been inserted, lest it should occasion him either to swear contrary to his conscience, or to renounce his right through an over-scrupulous, or superstitious delicacy of conscience. It were to be wished, that the spirit of this law should occasion the abundance of useless oaths to be abolished, which bad custom has introduced into all the trading societies and companies of France.

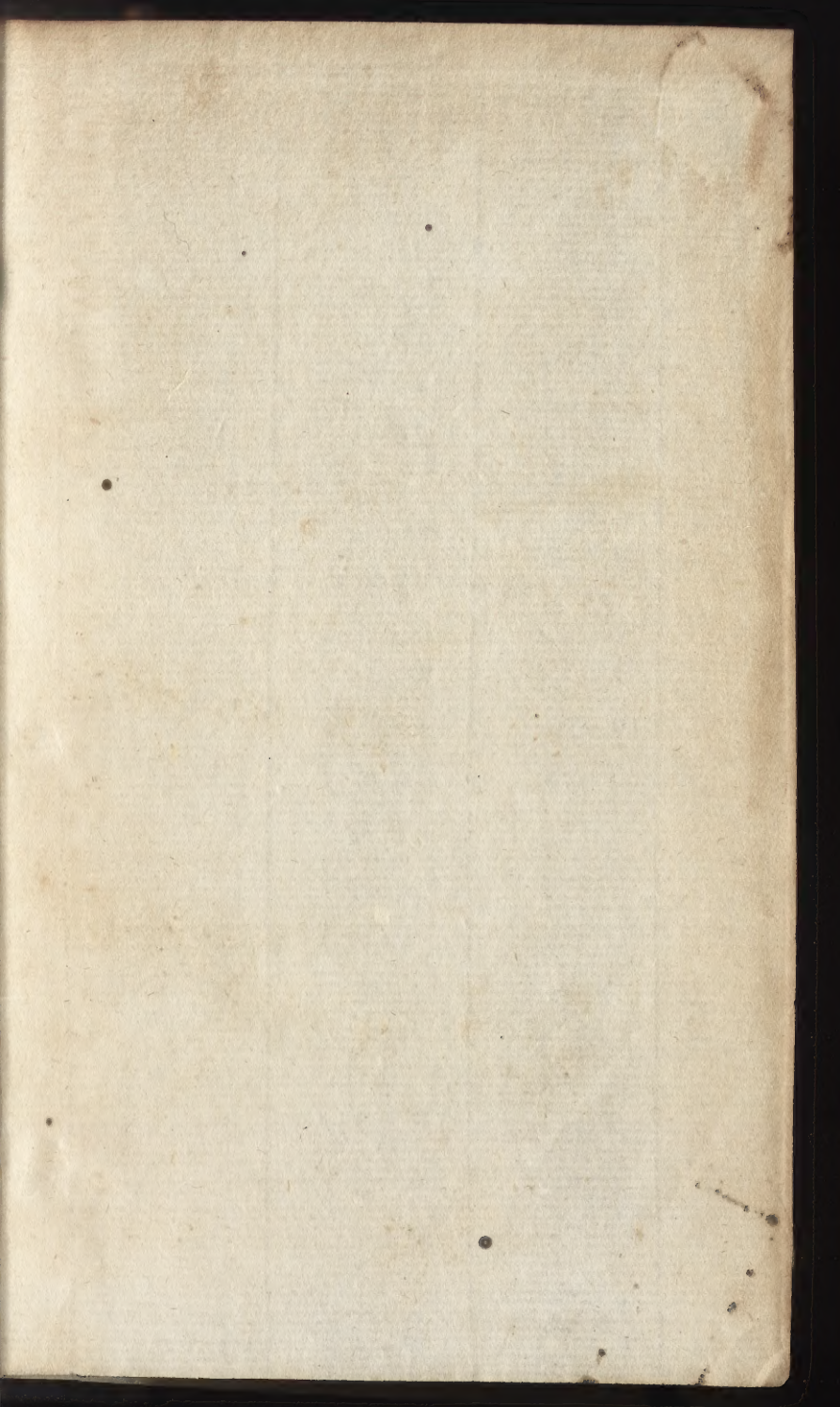
Advocati, qui dirimunt ambigua fata causarum, suæque defensionis viribus in rebus sæpe publicis ac privatis lapsa erigunt, fatigata reparant, non minus provident humano generi, quàm si præliis atque vulneribus patriam parentesque salvarent. Nec enim solos nostro imperio militare credimus illos, qui gladiis, clypeis, & thoracibus nituntur, sed etiam advocatos. Militant namque patroni causarum, qui gloriose vocis confisi munimine, laborantium spem, vitam, ac posteros defendunt. “Advocates, who terminate causes, of which the events are always uncertain, and who by the force of their eloquence, whether in respect to the public, which often happens, or private persons, reinstate ruinous affairs, render no less service to mankind, than if they defended their country and parents in battle at the expence of their blood and wounds. For we rank in the number of those who fight for our empire, not only such as act for it with sword, harness, and shield, but those also who lend our subjects the noble aid of eloquence, in defence of their lives, interests, and posterity.”

It is with reason that the prince bestows such fine praises on a profession, which makes so salutary an use of the talents of the mind, and that he equals it with whatever is greatest in the state. But at the same time he recommends to advocates the exercise of so illustrious a profession with a noble disinterestedness, and not to disgrace it by a base devotion to sordid interest. *Ut non ad turpe compendium stipemque deformem hæc arripiatur occasio, sed laudis per eam augmenta quarantur. Nam si lucro pecunieque capiantur, veluti abjecti atque degeneres inter vilissimos numerabuntur.* He also exhorts them not to abandon themselves to the inhuman itch and pleasure of bitter raillery and gross invective, which only lessen the weight of the advocate's discourse in the esteem of his hearers ; but

to confine themselves strictly to what the necessity and success of causes requires. *Ante omnia autem universi advocati ita præbeant patrocinia iurgantibus, ut non ultra quàm l'itium p'scit utilitas, in licentiam convitiandi & maledicendi temeritate prorumpant. Agant quod causa desiderat, temperent ab injuria. Nam si quis adeo procax fuerit, ut non ratione sed probriis putet esse certandum, opinionis suæ imminutionem patietur.*

The End of V O L. XII.





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